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Prem Sumārāg

The Testimony
of a Sanatan Sikh

W.H. McLEOD

Page

PREM SUMĀRAG

The Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh

The *Prem Sumārāg* presents an ideal of the duty of the Sikh Panth during the eighteenth/ nineteenth centuries. The importance of this classic text lies in the fact that it is of Sanatan origin, part of a tradition which has been over time overshadowed by the dominant Tat Khalsa version of the Rahit.

McLeod's translation of Randhir Singh's text of the *Prem Sumārāg* is thus a major contribution to Sikh studies. Notwithstanding debates about its date, this Sanatan text presents a radical alternative to the Tat Khalsa interpretation of Sikh history.

The *Prem Sumārāg* provides an extended account of the Sikh way of life. It outlines Sikh ceremonies and ideals, and what was conceived to be 'noble practice' by its anonymous authors. The leisurely and detailed style of this document differs dramatically from the usually pithy style of the other rahit-namas, and, this Sanatan text is, in its description, perhaps a closer reflection of the society of the time.

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Hew McLeod

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Abbreviations

AG	Adi Granth.
DG	Dasam Granth.
ESC	McLeod, W.H. <i>The Evolution of the Sikh Community</i> . Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
GNSR	McLeod, W.H. <i>Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976.
HDS	McLeod, W.H. <i>Historical Dictionary of Sikhism</i> . Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1995. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.
MK	Nabha, Kahn Singh. <i>Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh</i> . 2nd edn revised with Addendum in one vol. Patiala: Bhasha Vibhag, Panjab, 1960.
PrS	<i>The Prem Sumārag</i> .
TSSS	McLeod, W.H. (trans. and ed.). <i>Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism</i> . Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Introduction

This translation of Randhir Singh's text of *Prem Sumārag* (or *Param Sumārag*) is the third and last instalment of a research project, dealing with the history of the Khalsa Rahit, which began in 1978. A first instalment was *The Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*, published in 1987 by the University of Otago Press in Dunedin. The second instalment (the chief contribution) was *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A history of the Khalsa Rahit*, published by the Oxford University Press of New Delhi in 2003. With the *Prem Sumārag*, this enterprise reaches its conclusion.

A Sanatan document

The importance of *Prem Sumārag* lies in the fact that it is a Sanatan product, very different from the Tat Khalsa versions which, during the twentieth century, came increasingly to dominate the Rahit debate and which eventually issued in the *Sikh Rahit Marayādā* of 1950.¹ The overwhelming dominance of the Tat Khalsa version of the Rahit evidently succeeded in having *Prem Sumārag* buried and forgotten, and with it other works of

¹The most important work dealing with this subject is Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, identity and diversity in the Sikh tradition* (Delhi: 1994, and Chicago: 1994). See also W.H. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A history of the Khalsa Rahit* (New Delhi: 2003), pp. 158–65.

a Sanatan persuasion. It is thanks to the work of Randhir Singh that it has been exhumed, and this translation will endeavour to make it better known amongst scholars and others who are interested in Sikh history. These include scholars who read Punjabi as well as those who know only English. The language of *Prem Sumārag* is not always clear, and the task of translating the work sometimes presented difficulties, particularly in the case of the eighth and ninth chapters.

The *Prem Sumārag*, however, is not without its problems, and of these an important one is its date. Is it an eighteenth-century work and, if so, was it written during the early part of the century? Alternatively, does it belong to the latter part of the eighteenth century? Or should it not be placed in the first half of the nineteenth century? There are also those who would have it positioned during the early British period, in other words during the latter half of the nineteenth century, prior to the emergence of the massively important Singh Sabha reform movement.

Prem Sumārag offers an extended Sanatan account of Sikh ceremonies and the Sikh way of life, and if it is to be placed in the eighteenth century, the account which it gives is an early one. In this respect, as we have already noted, it differs radically from the Tat Khalsa interpretation that was later to overwhelm it. Tat Khalsa concepts have buried Sanatan alternatives so effectively that it can now be very difficult to think in terms other than the Tat Khalsa's. This work provides, by way of contrast, a distinctive Sanatan pattern, different from that of the Tat Khalsa. This pattern was to continue over several generations, and although it has long been rendered invisible, it is still maintained by a minority of Sikhs of the Khatri and Arora castes.

Prem Sumārag provides a detailed account of Sikh ideals and what was conceived to be noble practice by the anonymous person or persons who wrote it. It may, of course, represent an eccentric view, though this appears to be unlikely. Jats may have had relatively little time for it, but Jats did not control all Sikh statements. Although the strongly Sanatan period follows the first recording of the *Prem Sumārag*, Sanatan views were certainly present during the eighteenth century. They, were, however, more likely to be expressed by the members of the Khatri caste, and references in the text suggest that this particular work was indeed written by a Khatri.² During the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh,

²This means that it was the work of a person of a highly-ranked caste and represents an elite view of the Khalsa. It does not represent popular religion with its devotion to pilgrimage, sacred places, idols, celebrated saints, and belief in miracles. Chapter 4, 12:1–3, p. 44. See also chapter 9, 9–10, 5 pp. 113–14, 119.

Sanatan beliefs secured an increasing hold amongst literate Sikhs, and the fact that was extensively quoted by the Englishman Major R. Leech in his 1844 report supports the view that it was widely accepted by the Panth in general during the middle period of the nineteenth century.³

The style of *Prem Sumārag* differs dramatically from that of the other *rahit-namas*. With only one other exception all of the *rahit-namas* that date from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries are brief and crisp. *Prem Sumārag* is, by contrast, frequently detailed in content and always leisurely in style. This is particularly the case in its instructions concerning the various types of marriage that may be performed within the Panth,⁴ instructions which contrast strongly with the brevity of its account of the method of initiation.⁵ The other exception that describes the *Rahit* at length is the one attributed to Chaupa Singh, which dates from the middle years of the eighteenth century. In terms of length *Prem Sumārag* certainly resembles it, but there the likeness ceases. Only in its two narrative portions does the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā* adopt a style that can be compared to that of *Prem Sumārag*.⁶ Occasionally, the parallels are actually quite close, even to the point of suggesting that certain passages from *Prem Sumārag* may conceivably be traced to similar passages accessible to the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*.⁷ In general, however, the style of the two *rahit-namas* differs considerably, particularly in the two *Chaupā Singh* sections devoted to enunciating the *Rahit*.⁸

The dating of the *Prem Sumārag*

A summary account of the *Prem Sumārag* has been given in Chapter 5 of *Sikhs of the Khalsa*⁹ and in the first edition of that work, its period is located within the first half of the nineteenth century. This dating should be treated as tentative, a period which seemed likely, but which was certainly not

³R. Leech, 'The Rites and Ceremonies of the Sikhs and the Sikh Sects', ed. Nahar Singh, *Guradūārā Gazar* 40.8 (August 1969). Intro. p.5; Parts I and II, pp.8–29, being a selection from *PrS*. Original (dated 23 October 1844) in *For. Secret*, 20 December 1845, 144 (NAI). In 1845, Leech published the portion of *PrS* as part of a collection of translations in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

⁴Chapter 4, p.33.

⁵Chapter 2, p.23.

⁶Sections 157–285 and 569–643 of the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*.

⁷The description of the Guru yet to come mentioned in McLeod, *op. cit.*, p.150, is an example of this similarity.

⁸Sections 1–156 and 286–568 of the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*.

⁹McLeod, *op. cit.*, pp.148–51.

definitive. The content and tone of *Prem Sumārag* are clearly aligned with the Sanatan interpretation, with the inevitable result that it met with a distinctly guarded reception from Kahn Singh Nabha and other members of the Tat Khalsa segment of the Singh Sabha. Randhir Singh has endeavoured to establish the early provenance of the work, arguing vigorously in favour of a clear link with the intention of Guru Gobind Singh, following the establishment of the Khalsa at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Was he justified in fixing the date so insistently?

Randhir Singh has certainly had his supporters. Four of these stand out, the first being Mohan Singh. In a chapter of his *An Introduction to Punjabi Literature* entitled 'The Age of Prem Sumarag (AD 1708 to 1780)' Mohan Singh writes:

That an epoch of such horrifying invasions as of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah from abroad, and of gory tribal and communal conflicts at home should be given the name in literature of a prose work ... *Prem Sumārag*—the True Path of Love—by an anonymous author will not surprise us when we realize that it is a vision that characterizes and saves a people, and that vision is best caught and painted by artists of fully developed, widened personality who react with more than ordinary vigour and acuteness and pressure to their milieu. ... This anonymous writer of the third age had a remarkable vision, prevision. He saw a time when a better, nobler, purer class (Khalsa) will come into power, and rule for the good of all.¹¹

These are enthusiastic words and, in rather more measured terms, they are upheld by Bhagat Singh and Fauja Singh.¹² The fourth scholar is Professor J.S. Grewal (even more measured in his treatment), who is dealt with below. This clearly was the majority view.¹³ Others, more hesitant, felt that *Prem Sumārag* properly belonged to the late eighteenth century.¹⁴ Yet others believed that the eighteenth century was too early,

¹⁰Randhir Singh (ed.), *Prem Sumārag Granth* (Jalandhar: 1965), pp.72, 83–93.

¹¹*Loc. cit.*, pp.121–22.

¹²Bhagat Singh, *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth & Nineteenth Centuries* (New Delhi: 1978), p. 166; Fauja Singh, 'Foundation of the Khalsa Commonwealth: ideological aspects', *The Sikh Review* 30.4 (April 1982), p.66.

¹³Other works are Surindar Singh Kohli, *Pañjābī Sāhit dā Itihās* (Ludhiana: 1955), p.216; Gurbux Singh, 'Institution of kingship: its place in Sikhism', *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference*, 11th session, 1976 (Patiala: 1978), pp.73–4; and Mohinder Singh, 'An ideal society: the Sikh perspective', *The Sikh Review* 44.3 (March 1996), pp.14–19. Kohli claims that there exists a manuscript of *PrS* dated 1718. No evidence for this manuscript has, however, been produced.

¹⁴Surjit Singh Gandhi, *Struggle of the Sikhs for Sovereignty* (Delhi: 1980), p.96; Parkash Singh Jammu, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism* (Patiala: 1997), Vol. III, p.368.

that it should be located in the early nineteenth century. Those favouring this view were much less numerous than those supporting an eighteenth century interpretation, but they included two very impressive figures, namely Kahn Singh Nabha and Principal Teja Singh.¹⁵ Then there are those who maintain that *Prem Sumārag* dates from the British period, which began in 1849. These are Surjit Hans and his student Gurpreet Kaur.¹⁶

Jagtar Singh Grewal provides an interesting case—interesting because he has twice changed his opinion concerning the dating of *Prem Sumārag*. Grewal at first concluded in an essay published in 1972 that the work belonged to the early eighteenth century.¹⁷ In the 1982 edition of *From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, he retracted this opinion, accepting instead the view that it was composed during ‘the first quarter of British rule in the Punjab’, viz. after 1849. This was ‘in deference to the argument of Dr S.S. Hans that [the work] was a late nineteenth-century product’.¹⁸ In an article entitled ‘Definition: Sikh’, published in *The Times of India* on 28 April 1991, he maintained this view. Since then, however, he has reverted to his original position. In 1996 a revised version of his original essay appeared in his *Sikh Ideology, Polity and Social Order*.¹⁹

The situation is actually more complicated than the published works indicate. In 1978, Professor Grewal expressed, in conversation with me, his view that *Prem Sumārag* probably dates from the early eighteenth century and that it certainly pre-dates the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. There are, he claimed, several reasons for holding this view, of which he mentioned two. The first is that the text claims that a Sikh when attacked by a Muslim should insult the Muslim’s Prophet and fight back. The second is that administrative detail is definitely Mughal and equally definitely not that of Ranjit Singh.²⁰

¹⁵Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurumat: Sudhākar* (Patiala: 4th edn 1970), p.268n; *idem. Gurumat Martand* (Amritsar: 1962), Vol. 1, p.33n.; Teja Singh, *Sikhism: Its ideals and institutions* (Bombay: rev. edn 1951), p.107.

¹⁶S.S. Hans, ‘Prem Sumarg: a modern forgery’, *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference*, 16th session, 1982 (Patiala: 1982), pp.180–88. Gurpreet Kaur, ‘Historical analysis of Sikh rahit-namas’ (Ph.D. thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1988), pp. 319, 350.

¹⁷J.S. Grewal, *From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Amritsar, 1972), pp.72–83; and *idem. Punjab Past and Present: Essays in honour of Dr Ganda Singh*, ed. Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Barrier (Patiala: 1976), pp. 165–75.

¹⁸Indu Banga, Preface, *From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Amritsar: 2nd ed. 1982), p.v. Dr Hans had, however, greatly overstated the date.

¹⁹J.S. Grewal, *Sikh Ideology, Polity and Social Order*, (New Delhi, 1996), pp.154–61.

²⁰Conversation, 22 September 1978.

These reasons must be taken seriously, particularly in view of the fact that there exists a composite manuscript dated S.1872 (1815 CE), which records the first *dhiāu* (chapter) of *Prem Sumārag*.²¹ The manuscript is, moreover, a copy, which means that the scribe must have had an even older manuscript at his disposal. This places *Prem Sumārag* at least in the early years of the nineteenth century and probably back in the eighteenth century. It can be argued that in this period, as in all the eighteenth century, Sikhs would scarcely have been thinking of maharajas and elephants and other features of *Prem Sumārag*. But would they have been thinking about the same things during the internecine wars of the misls? Jat warriors would have other things on their minds, though this would not necessarily apply to Khatri.²²

It is true that the injunction to listen to the Vedas each day would be unlikely in the eighteenth century, at least for the Jats.²³ The possibility of a Khatri author obtrudes once again, for listening to the Vedas seems more likely to come from such a source than from a Jat warrior. More serious is the fact that in *Prem Sumārag* women are admitted as initiated members of the Khalsa.²⁴ Nowhere else is this recorded during the eighteenth century. But then there is the date given of the founding of the Khalsa which is S.1755 or 1698–99 CE. The date normally accepted by Sikhs today is Baisakhi Day 1756. This convention of accepting 1756 did not surface until 1797 CE when it was given by Sukkha Singh, author of *Gur-bilās Dasvīn Pāshāhī*.²⁵ A manuscript which gives S.1755 as the date looks like being from the eighteenth century.

Manuscripts of the *Prem Sumārag*

Manuscript copies of *Prem Sumārag* are rare, which is not surprising, considering the Tat Khalsa's disapproval of the strong Sanatan emphasis

²¹Manuscript 11 held by the Guru Hargobind Library of Ludhiana. The title of the manuscript is *Pothī Gurbānī te Prem Sumārag, Harīkat Rāhī Mukām, Tanakhāh-nāmā Nand Lāl*. In its colophon, the manuscript gives a date in the month of Savan which means that the year according to common era dating is 1815.

²²For the differences in Jat and Khatri characteristics, see common era ESC, pp.95–101.

²³Chapter 8.11.1, 19:4.

²⁴Chapter 2:5, 3:1, 4:14:18, 4:15:2, 4:15:6, 4:15:17. Note in particular 4:15:6 and 17, which decree that by taking the initiation she has become a Sikhni. The wording in 4:15:17 is: 'This person has, in complete sincerity, assumed the garb of the Khalsa and become a Sikhni.'

²⁵W.H. McLeod, *HDS*, p. 123.

of the work. Shamsheer Singh Ashok mentions only three copies in *Pañjābī Hath-likhatān dī Sūchī*, two in volume 1 and one in volume 2.²⁶ The first of these is held in the library of Kahn Singh at Brijesh Bhavan, Nabha. According to Ashok it is an eighteenth-century manuscript, though no importance should be attached to this estimate. Ashok commonly made decisions according to either tradition or guesswork. The second of the manuscripts is number 957 in the Panjabi Sahit Akadami, Model Town, Ludhiana. This one is dated S.1931 (1872–73 CE) and claims to be a copy of an earlier manuscript dated S.1758 (1701–02 CE). The date S.1758 is unlikely to the point of being an impossibility. The third manuscript is held by Pritam Singh of Patiala and when the bibliography was published in 1963 was said to be approximately 125 years old.

In addition to these three manuscripts listed by Ashok, there is the important one held by the Guru Hargobind Library of Ludhiana, dated S.1872 (1815 CE). The Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College also has two manuscripts, but both contain only chapter 1.²⁷

Randhir Singh describes in the introduction to *Prem Sumārag Granth* how he obtained his text. In 1940, he had obtained from Ishar Singh Ragi of Bikaner State an old book which incorporated a portion of *Prem Sumārag Granth*. This amounted to only a fragment. In approximately 1930, however, he had been told by Bhai Seva Singh, editor of the *Khālā Samāchār*, of a copy in the Lahore Public Library. During the period following 1940, he took brief leaves from his employment as an auditor for the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) to visit Lahore and pursue the task of copying the Public Library copy. In this respect, he was assisted by Bachint Singh of the SGPC's legal section in Lahore. Together Randhir Singh and Bachint Singh copied the text, which Randhir Singh subsequently published in 1953. He subsequently loaned the Ishar Singh fragment to an acquaintance, but never received it back.²⁸ The manuscript held by the Public Library in Lahore from which Randhir Singh and Bachint Singh copied their text was entrusted to the Library by Attar Singh of Bhadaur. This manuscript is (or was) dated S. 1931 (1874 CE). Randhir Singh also claims to have acquired a *sañchi*²⁹ dated S. 1858 (1701 CE, *sic* 1801), but does not actually describe it.³⁰

²⁶*Loc. cit.*, I.334–35, II.219.

²⁷*A Catalogue of Punjabi and Urdu Manuscripts*, ed. Kirpal Singh (Amritsar: 1963), pp.109–10. Chapter 1 may well have been added to the manuscript later.

²⁸*Prem Sumārag Granth*, Introduction, pp.81–3.

²⁹Portion of a book or manuscript.

³⁰*Prem Sumārag Granth*, Introduction, p.88.

PORTIONS OMITTED FROM RANDHIR SINGH'S COPY

One feature which could possibly be clarified by the three other complete manuscripts reported by Shamsher Singh Ashok and the one held by the Guru Hargobind Library of Ludhiana is the range of omissions that Randhir Singh deleted from the text that he subsequently published. The following sections have been omitted from *Prem Sumārag Granth*.

- Chapter 3: 2.1–2
- ” 5: 4.8–13
- ” 6: 5.6
- ” 8: 7.10, 8.5, 11.5, 13.1–2, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1
- ” 9: 8.1–2, 11.5
- ” 10: 2.3, 2.5

Presumably most of these sections were present in the Lahore Public Library manuscript. Why then were they omitted? In the case of the two omissions from chapter 10, it appears that the sections may in fact have been missing from the Lahore manuscript. That, at least, is a possible conclusion to draw from the fact that in *Prem Sumārag Granth* their absence is signalled by a row of dots in each case. Four of the six sections omitted from chapter 5 are also marked with a lengthy row of dots. This portion was certainly present in the Lahore text as Randhir Singh observes in a footnote that they ‘seem unnecessary’.³¹ This appears unlikely, for the text is dealing at this point with the consumption of *kutṭhā* meat (*halāl* or Muslim meat), which would seem to be of very real interest in a *rahit-nama*.³²

The remainder are left without explanation. Why is this so? Could it be that the translator as a product of the Singh Sabha reformation may have seen it as his duty to omit those features which conflicted with an ‘authentic’ view of Sikhism? Vir Singh certainly did this with *Prāchīn Panth Parkāsh*.³³ This, however, seems unlikely. Certain features opposed to an orthodox Tat Khalsa view appear in the translation³⁴ and the whole tenor of *Prem Sumārag* was strongly Sanatan in tone. There appears to be no evident explanation for the omission of these sections.

³¹*Prem Sumārag Granth*, p.64.

³²The two remaining omissions from this chapter 5 block are not explained.

³³Harinder Singh Chopra and Surjit Hans, ‘The editing of *Panth Parkash* by Bhai Vir Singh’, *Punjab Journal of Politics* XII.1 (January-June 1988), pp.51–62.

³⁴The adding of ‘Devi’ instead of ‘Kaur’ to a girl’s name at initiation, and the piercing of her nose and ears, are examples. Chapter 3, 5.3, p.32.

Conclusion

Prem Sumārag is clearly a Sanatan work and as such it does not agree with the Tat Khalsa notion of Sikh history which is clearly dominant today. The Tat Khalsa view can be unreliable when confronted by any aspect of Sikh history, particularly up to the beginning of the twentieth century. This does not mean of course that it is always wrong. Rather it means that its understanding and presentation of history is coloured by fundamental theories of a strictly theological nature. As opposed to this interpretation there is the Sanatan belief which differs radically from the historiography of the Tat Khalsa. This applies in particular to Sikh history prior to the foundation of the Tat Khalsa, after which it fades quickly from sight. *Prem Sumārag* represents this Sanatan view. It presents an ideal of the Panth during the eighteenth century, an ideal which differs considerably from the Tat Khalsa notion of Sikh society during that century. The Tat Khalsa interpretation is abundantly represented in Sikh history as it is related today. *Prem Sumārag*, with its emphasis laid firmly on a Sanatan interpretation, is markedly different, and as an interpretation it is much closer to the society which it describes. As such it deserves our closest attention.

By the grace of the Eternal One, the True Guru
Here begins the *Prem Sumārag Granth*
By the grace of the Tenth Master
[This work is written] in accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh.

Chapter 1

The devotional practice of *simaran* The word of Akal Purakh

[M]y son, I have fashioned you from my own being [and I have created] a Panth to serve as witness to the world. What kind of Panth [have I created]? One in which *dharam* has made its abode, [one in which] error is destroyed and true wisdom exalted. I am the Supreme one. Know none save me, for I have set forth the Panth [as a witness to the truth]. To the people [of the world] I have delivered the message of the divine Word through a succession of 10 incarnations. To the shame of all who inhabit the world error still remains. That which I have performed I have imprinted on [every] person. I, the Supreme One, dwell within every heart. Is anything hidden from me?

And [yet] the commands [embodied in] the divine Word are not obeyed. It was to deliver [mankind] that the Guru assumed 10 [successive] incarnations. How can this evil world be set free? Kaliyuga has secured dominion [over the world] and by [the power of] his authority has caused much [misery]. The panths which exist at present will all submit to the panth that is evil. This evil¹ panth has been established in accordance

¹*malechh panth*: This should perhaps be translated as 'the Muslim panth'. The enemies of the Sikhs during the early and middle years of the eighteenth century were Muslim and, as such, would be the targets of the Sikhs as 'evil people'. This possible interpretation has a bearing on the actual date of the *PrS*, as it supports the claim that the early or mid-eighteenth century would be the date of composition.

with the divine will. If the story of [how this happened] were to be written it would produce a mighty tome. [The people of] the Muslim panth have become enmeshed in their own beliefs, forgetful [of the truth]. To them I now declare my purpose.

As day follows day, [knowledge of the truth] shall spread and grow in abundance. Much has already been revealed. [The power] of Kaliyuga will continue to spread as it has already done. A son will commit incest with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter. What [behaviour] is there other than such [depravity]? Kings will supply nothing for their subjects to eat. [Instead] they will oppress them. The earth will be unable to support the burden of such evil. Within a short time, it will spread far and wide, and it is for this reason that [this message] has been uttered. That which is inevitable must surely happen.

This is but one of a thousand things [which must be declared] spoken by the Satguru because he knew what was to come. Knowing what was to come the Satguru assumed 10 [successive] incarnations for the sake of [afflicted] souls, so that they might achieve deliverance [from the cycle of transmigration]. The panth [thus created] was called the Guru's Panth. During the [time of] grievous evil which is to come none will trust or heed another. Love and devotion will leave them because people will follow their wayward hearts (*man*). [But as a result of the Guru's teaching, all this will change.] Sri Akal Purakh has shown grace [to the perverse and ignorant] and by divine inspiration has created the Khalsa [for their deliverance]. Moreover, [Sri Akal Purakh] has commanded Kaliyuga that all panths must be drawn together, distinct from that of the Muslims. Why? Because the Muslim panth will eventually be destroyed and [all within it] will go to hell. Those who enter this [Khalsa] Panth by S.1755² will be able to retain their dharam [and thus attain deliverance]. If they fail [to enter it by that year], Kaliyuga will devour them.

[It was foretold how] in the 455th [year] of the Kaliyuga [one representing] the Satiyuga would appear, one who would be called the Buddha. His birth [duly] took place during the last watch of the night on the fifth day of the dark half of [the month of] Magh, [the precise moment being] 10 *gharis* and 32 *pals* [after midnight]. The rule of the Satiyuga [thus] made its appearance at that place in S.166³, though the Kaliyuga will last for [a total of] 173,025 years. Eventually Kaliyuga will be assailed with great force [and the Satiyuga will finally take its place].

²1698–99 CE.

³109–10 CE.

In the Satiyuga a man will live to be 205 and during that period joy will abound. During the Satiyuga there will be 17 lunar days [in each half of a lunar month], 36 sidereal days [in a sidereal month], 12 days [in a week], 14 months [in a year], 50 days in a month, [and] 45 gharis in each day.

In the last days [of the present era, declares Akal Purakh, I shall provide] protection for my Sant Khalsa, [a defence which will be needed] because the Muslim panth will grow in strength. A wonder shall be revealed in the town of Sambhal.⁴ There I shall raise up one who will slay the enemies [of the Khalsa]. Over the Khalsa he will hoist the banner of dharam, annihilating [its enemies] the Muslims. The wonder [to be revealed in the town of Sambhal] will be the 'disciple of a warrior' (*marad kā chelā*), created in my image.⁵ He will overthrow the followings [of all who claim rank and status, and by his command] anyone who calls a [mere] man a guru shall have his tongue cut out. He shall declare: 'I am the servant of the Supreme One, the disciple of a warrior.' All *manjis* shall be destroyed, as this is to be the fate of all followings during the last days. From the first to the last, he will destroy every *manji*.⁶

A sanyasi and other ascetics will seize control of *manjis*. I shall deal with them in such a manner that they will be cast into the most fearsome hell. False gurus consumed by greed will lead Sikhs astray and those Sikhs will be [condemned] for their love of the same filthy lucre.

Why will those who call [themselves] gurus claim, 'I alone am [the Guru] and there is no other'? One will say that he is the son of [a guru], whereas another will maintain that he has received a [divine] commission. False Sikhs will say, 'This is the Guru!' and, prompted by selfish greed, will follow [these impostors]. They can be called Sikhs only for their outward appearance. They may claim to be unique, but [in fact] they who set themselves up as gurus will all go to hell.

They who are accepted by the [true] Guru, however, will be sheltered

⁴A small town near Moradabad in Uttar Pradesh where the Kalki *avatar* is due to appear and the reign of Kaliyuga will end. MK, p.185.

⁵The term *marad kā chelā* occurs in Guru Nanak's Tilang 5, p. 723. Tilang 5 is one of Guru Nanak's four celebrated Babur-vani compositions ('utterances concerning Babur') and the reference to *marad kā chelā* is regarded as a prophecy concerning the defeat of the Mughals by Sher Shah Suri in S.1597 (1540 CE). The complete line runs as follows: *āvani aharai jāni satānavai horu bhī uhasī marad kā chelā*. ('They will come in 78 and will depart in 97 when the disciple of a warrior will arise.') It is not clear why the *marad kā chelā* has been identified with the Kalki avatar. See also Chapter 10, fn. 8.

⁶Presumably the author means the masands.

under his protection. It is for their benefit that this manual of moral instruction has been [written]. He who accepts [what is recorded herein] shall thereby obtain the bliss of deliverance. For such people the command of Sri Akal Purakh is a benevolent [command]. He who hears, accepts, and discharges it shall obtain deliverance. He who becomes a Khalsa of Sri Akal Purakh shall accept no one as a divine incarnation except [the 10 Gurus]. Worship only where the light of the divine Word shines.

Many false gurus will appear, but they will not be accepted. Then the 'disciple of a warrior' shall arise. Hindus, Muslims, and others who belong to false panths shall all be destroyed. Truth shall be established, and [all] shall follow the path indicated by this book. All ignorance shall be obliterated; true wisdom shall be revealed. Dharam shall be established and for a long time its principles shall be followed. The 'disciple of a warrior' who is to arise will do so from within my Khalsa and on him I shall confer the mighty powers at my command. His dedicated service shall earn for him the authority of the Guru, though even he shall not be called Guru.

In accordance with the command of Akal Purakh there shall also arise another leader, this one a powerful Muslim (*musalamān*) from the West. For his destruction and for the protection of the Sant Khalsa, a [new] era (*yug*) shall dawn. The community of the faithful shall assemble and the pattern of living (*varatārā*) dictated by the Satguru shall be observed. He who accepts these precepts (*rahitān*) as sound and, [as a member of the Panth], lives accordingly shall achieve deliverance. In this life, he shall dwell in happiness. Those who associate with him shall also attain deliverance, as shall all his descendants from the first to the last. His [final] abode shall be in Param Lok—there in the realms of Sach Khand⁷ where dwell the Sant Khalsa, the divine congregation of Sri Akal Purakh. He who accepts and discharges these precepts shall obtain release [from the cycle of transmigration]. 1.

The first precept of the Rahit

Let the person who seeks deliverance hear [what follows]. Sri Akal Purakh has commanded that the person who seeks release should rise for those most tranquil of hours, [the three hours which constitute] the last watch of the night. Having arisen he should bathe with cold water. If he should find cold water disagreeable to his body let him warm the water before

⁷Heaven; the highest realm reached in the soul's spiritual ascent. Cf *Japji* 37, AG, p.8

pouring it on his head and washing with it. If the water is not fresh, it should [always] be warmed before being used. If for any reason this cannot be done, or if [sufficient] water is not available, or if there is any reason why the body [should not be bathed], then wash only the mouth, hands, feet, and lower portion of the legs. Then recite the divine Name,

‘The holy Name, the holy.’

When doing so, hold the hands in front of the face [with palms respectfully joined]. Having repeated the divine Name seven times, cleanse your entire body, from head to toe, with appropriate gestures, [washing it with the divine Name] as one would bathe it with water. Then shall your body be purified. This method, however, should be used only if water is not available or if the body cannot tolerate it. Perform this bodily discipline during the tranquil hours of the last watch of the night. Recite *Japu[ī]* and *Jāp* five times [each], and likewise *Anand*. If there should happen to be any purpose relating to your ordinary everyday life which you wish to achieve, recite [the couplet] from *Āraṭī* which refers to the lotus-feet [of Sri Akal Purakh] and touch the ground with your forehead.

Having thus prostrated yourself, stand up and repeat Ardas.⁸ After completing Ardas, [you will find that] the objective which you wished to achieve will be completely fulfilled, regardless of how difficult or simple it may have been. If [on the other hand] you are thoroughly at ease and have no such purposes to pursue, then read from the Pothi Granth [a selection of] the *bāṇī* delivered for our instruction by the Gurus, from the first Master to the ninth. [Having done this] recite the lotus-feet

⁸One word which deserves to be noted carefully is Ardas, or its cognate form *aradāsi*. Can this mean ‘Ardas’, the Khalsa prayer; or is it a non-specific term, which should be translated simply as ‘prayer’ or ‘prayer of petition’? Does this mean that Ardas was recited, or should we conclude that it was not yet known to the Khalsa in the eighteenth or early part of the nineteenth century? On several occasions, it certainly does *not* mean ‘Ardas’. On others, it apparently can only mean ‘Ardas’ if we are to assume that the wording of the Khalsa prayer was completely different from that which Ardas now contains. This dual meaning, however, has been followed in the translation of *PrS*, which follows. In chapter 1, *aradāsi* patently seems to mean ‘Ardas’, notwithstanding the fact that the wording appears to be quite different from the modern Khalsa prayer. Chapter 2 also produces a usage of *aradāsi* which seems to mean ‘Ardas’ rather than ‘prayer’. It is only when we come to the ceremony required for the reception of a newborn child in chapter 3 that the meaning seems obviously to be simply ‘prayer’. From this it follows that the text of *PrS* produces a meaning for *aradāsi*, which sometimes can be translated with one word and sometimes with the other. With some misgiving the translation chosen employs the various meanings that the context seems to demand.

[couplet] from Āraṁ and touch the ground with your forehead. Let your humble petition be:

‘Grant to me, a [miserable] renegade, the blessing of the divine Name,
That effortlessly, with every breath, I may recall the Guru.’

Having offered this petition and attained peace of mind, arise and proceed to [the day’s] labours. But keep the beloved words of the Guru (*bāṇī shabad*) ever with you. The Word is the Guru, [your] intelligence (*surati*) its disciple. Recite it with undivided devotion. 2.

The second precept of the Rahit

[The Guru] commands: If it is [already] the second watch of the day [when you awake] wash your hands, feet, and legs and recite Japu[ī] and Jāp once each. Then proceed to your labours. Anyone who does not know how to recite [these works] should first wash his hands and feet, and then observe the following ritual. First he should call to mind Sri Akal Purakh. Next he should repeat the divine Name. If he requires no purification, he should silently recite the following seven times from memory:

Sri Vahaguru Akal Purakhji, I cast myself on Thy protection.

1 O[ankar]. There is one Supreme Being, the Eternal Reality, the Creator, without fear and devoid of enmity, immortal, never incarnated, self-existent, known by grace through the Guru. 1

No visible sign, neither caste nor lineage; no colour to describe, neither features nor attire. You are the Eternal One, self-enlightened, and of infinite power. Immortal One above all others, Monarch of all and Ruler of the three worlds; Eternal Creator, supreme over all beings, demon, human, and divine; your nature affirmed by the mantle of the forest, your infinity proclaimed by every blade of grass. Who can recount your names, Eternal One? Your deeds alone reveal you to the wise. 2

Recite this. It confers the same merit as a complete recitation of Japu[ī] and Jāp. If you have any essential purpose [to be fulfilled] and [by way of offering your petition] can recite no more than this let it suffice. For it to be effective, however, it is essential that it be recited in accordance with the ritual here specified. A thousand other things can be neglected [but not this]. 3.

The third precept of the Rahit

An hour before the close of day, recite the *Sodar Rahirās*. At its conclusion repeat Japu[ī] and Jāp, and touch the ground with your forehead. Then offer any petitions [which you may wish to make, and conclude by] saying:

I am a transgressor, [all] glory is yours.

Do with me as seems good to you.

Your disposing is joy to me; let your divine Name dwell in my consciousness.

On your protection I cast myself. 3.

The fourth precept of the Rahit

[The fourth precept] is as follows. When night comes and all worldly activity has been put aside turn to reciting compositions (bāṇī) by the Gurus, [recite works by all] the Masters, from the first to the tenth—[Guru Gobind Singh's] *Bachitar Nāṭak* and works from the [Adi] Granth by the other Masters. Sing kirtan. If drowsiness overtakes you, recite *Kīrtan Sohilā*, meditate on Vah Guru, and sleep. Breathe *vāh* from your navel as you inhale and *gurū* as you exhale. [Thus you shall continue to] repeat 'Vah Guru' and your deep consciousness (surati) shall remain ever awake. Review the day's deeds as you [drift into] sleep. Do not let your mind wander to other things. The person who discharges this precept, whether man or woman, shall achieve deliverance and shall know the joy of [belonging] to the Panth of Sri Guru Akal Purakh.

The most important precept of all, one which must never be denied, is this. A man must not keep the company of another's wife; and a woman must not cast [improper] eyes on the husband of another.

Do not be covetous. Do not be prone to either anger or pride. Avoid excessive attachment to worldly concerns, and do not vilify others. Do not lie—but do not speak the truth that will harm another. Whatever you do let it be done in a gracious spirit, always keeping in view the account which you must finally render. Remain ever mindful of the fact that you must eventually abandon this perishable frame. Do not forget this, but live rather in the dread awareness that any breath may be your last. [Therefore] let no breath escape in futile idleness.

Harm no one. Speak only that which brings happiness. If anyone abuses you do not take it to heart. Let nothing grieve you, regardless of whether you are accorded respect or insult. Do not accept another's charity, but rather live by the fruits of your prescribed labour (*dharam kī kiratī*). Look to none save only the Giver, Guru Baba Akal Purakh.

To seek the fulfilment of any wish never visit tombs or sepulchres, the temples of gods or goddesses, idols, or *tīraths*. Do not resort to fasting, idol worship, the recitation of mantras, or magic; and do not lay any such petition before a pir or a Brahman. Put no trust in [the efficacy of] libations (*tarapanī*), reciting the Gayatri, or performing the Hindu's daily rituals. Cling to the lotus-feet of Sri Akal Purakh.

Cherish the Sant Khalsa, the company of [those who love and obey Sri Akal Purakh]. All who belong to the Khalsa are [purified by the Guru's] perfect touchstone. But who are the Khalsa? They are those who have totally committed themselves to the care and keeping of Guru Sri Akal Purakh, rising above both sorrow and ambition. Conquering their base instincts they concentrate their attention on the perfect grace and beauty of Sri Akal Purakh.

When your spirit tires of worldly activity and it becomes evident that your life is being spent in futile endeavour commit yourself into the keeping of the Supreme Guru (*param purakh gurū*). One must learn to live in such a manner that although it may be impossible to avoid worldly activity, one's attention will nevertheless remain focused on the Guru. Let no one know what simaran or jap discipline the Guru lays upon you, nor what austerities [he may require you to perform]. The greater the privacy of one's devotional exercises, the greater the merit. Thus does one enter the Guru's presence (*darashan*) and one's love for him endures forever. It is hypocrisy to let others see what should be a secret practice of simaran as decreed by the Rahit. Akal Purakh, [the supreme] Parabrahm Parameshur, is neither satisfied nor pleased by such behaviour.

By what, then, is he pleased and satisfied? He is pleased and satisfied, first of all, by an ever-present awareness that this body is transient and that you may have to abandon it without warning. Realizing this, you retain no affection for your body. Whenever one achieves a total detachment from mundane concerns he will perceive, with every breath he takes, Sri Akal Purakh present within his heart. He who [acquires this detachment] shall never be vexed by base instincts. [Such instincts] will vanish and [freed from them] he shall dwell in the [perfect] knowledge [of Sri Akal Purakh]. To him shall all joys come. He shall acquire a thorough [understanding of] the Guru's words, the true Word of immortality, and in this he shall find bliss.

Share whatever the Lord has given you to eat or wear with any who may be hungry, naked, or in need. Regard another's [good] deeds as proceeding from me. Understand that the Guru is gracious [and that his grace may work through others]. Do not be remiss [in this respect]. Defer to others without letting it be seen that you are doing so, for thus is the Guru pleased.

If anyone is content [with what he is doing] let him remain content. Trouble no one. If anyone abuses you do not take it to heart. Recognize no one as either friend or enemy. Wherever you look, see only the Eternal

One, immanent in all. Speak only that which soothes and pleases (*amrit hī bolai*), and let your words be few. Relate anecdotes from the life of Guru Baba [Nanak] and thus provide a blend of the divine Word, the Guru's utterances, and spiritual wisdom. Otherwise remain silent. Silence is the supreme [virtue].

If you crave food then eat, but never to excess. Renounce the practice of censuring others. Appoint a regular time for sleep, and do not sleep at other times.

Do not regard your family as your own, whether son, wife, or any other member. The same applies to your wealth. Think of yourself as a traveller who has come in response to a command, as one who dwells here as a wayfarer staying briefly at an inn. Regard your beloved [as a transient acquaintance], as one known only by a fleeting glimpse as you pass on your way. See permanence only in that which has nothing to do with people, [for they, like you, must pass on]. We are gathered here together because night has fallen. When day breaks we shall all proceed on our various ways. Therefore form no attachments. Renounce all [earthly] ties. View [the world] as the Creator's play and avoid all attachment to it. Look only to the Creator.

The entire Rahit can be summarized as follows: cause suffering to none. Do not reveal your innermost thoughts to anyone. Perform your regular daily labour and from whatever the Guru bestows on you for your efforts, set aside one-tenth for Sri Akal Purakh. Likewise set aside anything promised by a vow or whenever reciting Ardas.

Keep one room in your house for the Guru Sri Akal Purakh. If any Sikh or sadhu [should seek shelter], or any needy or poor person, then let him use that room. [Service rendered to those in need is like money deposited] in the treasury of Guru Baba [Nanak]. He who thus deposits in the Guru's treasury by feeding or clothing devotees of Sri Akal Purakh secures credit [which will be repaid after death] in Sach Khand.

And if a needy person requires anything else, then give accordingly. Say to him: 'When the Guru Baba comes to you and asks for alms, brother, give him this money. Alternatively, deposit this coin of the Guru in whatever treasury of the Guru Sri Akal Purakh is available to you.' A Khalsa should draw from this treasury, thus providing himself with subsistence while he continues to discharge whatever occupation may be prescribed by his dharam. Whenever the Guru Baba is generous to him, he should repay [whatever he has withdrawn], or retain [whatever he has been given for future subsistence], or deposit it in any treasury of Sri Akal Purakh that may be available. Thus will the Guru's coin circulate in [profitable] trading.

The Khalsa [who thus participates in the Guru's trade] shall want for nothing. At all times he will be content. Acknowledging divine authority over all that he does, he will be satisfied, regardless of whether [his] Master bestows pleasure or misfortune. No mediator will be needed between [Master and servant]. Take no pride in the act, [of virtue] which you perform. If others should try to persuade you otherwise, dismiss their claims. Remain ever humble.

Though a Singh should thus remain humble he must never be separated from his weapon. If anyone should appear in the five garments⁹ [for battle] efforts should be made to turn him away [from violence]. It may happen, however, that some such brute will refuse to listen, thereby making it clear that if one were to remain docile, dharam and honour would be at stake. In such circumstances, one must recognize the futility of appeals and, as a last resort, take up arms. Do so with quick determination and do not permit him to escape.

There will be times when you will appreciate that the Guru is your protector. When you are caught in an ambush and must escape he will save you and let you go free. Or what if you are attacked and find that you lack the strength to wield your weapon? At such times, let [your enemies] heed the command of their own Master,¹⁰ he whom they obey, he whom they claim as their succour at the time of death. If they fail [to show mercy], I shall brand them with ignominy in the Creator's court and cast them into hell.

If it is your religious allegiance (dharam) which they attack curse their Master. If they assail you fiercely and you realize that there is no hope of escape hold fast to your allegiance and curse their Master. They will be struck down for their evil words. And if you must die for your faith, do so repeating the divine Name. The time [for the destruction] of the Muslims (*malechhān*) is near.¹¹ They will bring much oppression, but in the end they will receive fierce punishment.

Let those who are Sikhs of the Khalsa show affection towards each other. Let them remain united, regardless of the good or evil each may

⁹*pañj kapare*. The 'five garments' are a turban, a scarf, a long outer shirt, a waistband, and an undergarment which means a kachh. Bhai Gurdas mentions them in *Vār* 2:10 and 3:11, and assumes that his readers will understand him. Likewise, the author of *PrS* will assume his audience's understanding. When a betrothal ceremony takes place, the girl's parents normally give the boy 'five garments'. Details have, however, been changed over time, and today the 'five garments' consist of a turban, a shirt, a two-piece suit, and a necktie.

¹⁰*vaḍakā*. This can be translated as 'Prophet'.

¹¹This too points to the early or mid eighteenth century as the date of composition.

perform. If any Sikh is attacked all others should be prepared to join in his defence. Thus shall they earn the merit conferred on those who believe in the Sikh faith and they will see Guru Baba Sri Akal Purakh come to their instant aid. Of this there is no doubt.

Every Sikh who belongs to the Khalsa of Sri Akal Purakh should be addressed as 'Singhji' and shown due respect. Retain [your] *kes*. Do not remove it. Do not shave off your hair.

These precepts are [recorded] in this book as obligations [to be observed by the Guru's followers]. Within [the loyal follower] the Guru will dwell. The Guru shall be his [Master] and he shall be the Guru's [faithful servant]. Others shall profit from the words [of such a person]. Whoever hears them and takes them to heart shall declare: 'If the Rahit expressed in these precepts has been promulgated by the Guru, then [by following it] even a sinner such as I can be restored.'

When [a loyal follower] draws near to death, the Guru shall be his succour. Whoever ignores these precepts shall have no place in the fellowship of Sri Akal Purakh's Sikhs, whereas all [who observe them] shall be delivered by the Guru. It is a foolish person who refuses to believe the words [of deliverance] spoken [to him] at the time of death. 'The Guru will be born in the east sometime in the future,' he will claim. [Such people] will set up [mere] men as gurus. They will refuse to believe in Sri Akal Purakh. 'Where is he?' they will say. 'Can he be seen? We will reverence a Guru only if we can see him.' They will persecute those who follow Sri Akal Purakh as Guru and who obey his commands. [For all this, they will pay the due penalty.] At life's end they shall not obtain forgiveness but suffer fierce punishment. Apart from these people, all will receive divine mercy. How will this come about? Mercy is from the Guru. He who is the true incarnation of Akal Purakh shall bring about the deliverance of all!

Repeat the divine Name with every breath. He who expresses love [for the divine Name] with every breath shall receive succour. Faithful followers of the Guru (*guramukh*) shall day and night behold his present incarnation. His current incarnation is made manifest as mystic light (*joti*). All who behold him will recognize him as the Creator. The mystic light of his presence will shine wherever his faithful followers gather. Wondrous the forms he will assume to bring transgressors to deliverance, sometimes appearing as a man of violence and sometimes devout.

Recognizing [the Guru] as God (*nārāiṇ*) they shall be set free [from the cycle of transmigration]. When that happens praise will be heaped on the Khalsa over all the world. Incarnated as mystic light, [the Guru]

will dwell detached. This incarnation he will retain. Why will he remain as [the incarnation of] mystic light? When the Satiyuga breaks into the Kaliyuga the incarnation of mystic light will shine in splendour, producing works of surpassing wonder. All that must be fulfilled shall be fulfilled. Thus shall [the loyal follower be separated from the world's pollution and] remain detached [from it].

And they who are Sikhs of Sri Akal Purakh will be judged by their deeds—by their words and by their attitudes. When the *yuga* changes again and the Tretayuga arrives, [Sri Akal Purakh] will assume the form of a man and will gather his followers around him. Thus shall the pattern of events unfold. He who was known as Akal Purakh shall be known as the Guru. They who become his Sikhs in the Kaliyuga shall also be his followers in this [later] age. This is the pleasure of Sri Akal Purakh. Whatever he wishes to do, he does.

Each member of the Khalsa has been created in order to discharge the Guru's will. Each should treasure the Guru's commands and concern himself with nothing else. Show respect and affection to such a Khalsa, for he shall find deliverance.

The first chapter of the *Prem Sumārag Granth* has been completed. It is the work of Sri Akal Purakh.

Chapter 2

Concerning the divine Name and the gift of faith in Akal Purakh

He who wishes to be a Sikh of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa should become one by undergoing the following rite [of initiation].

First, offer *kaṛāh* [*prasād*] which has been dedicated to Guru Baba Akāl Purakh. Then make an offering of a coconut together with a rupee and a quarter. Next the candidate should dress in new clothes. He should put on a turban, a white tunic (*jāmā*) opening at the front, and then a white *kachh*. [Over these] he should put on a pair of pants (*sūthan*), drawing them up from the feet to the waist as one would put on stockings. Ensure that they [sit smoothly and] are not puckered [around the calves or ankles]. Next he should tie a sash [around his waist] and then arm himself with the five [traditional] weapons [of the Khalsa]. Let him then seat himself in the midst of the [assembled] Khalsa.

Whoever summons the Khalsa to his home [for this purpose] should invite either five or seven Khalsa Sikhs [to participate in the ceremony]. Do not turn away anyone who may happen to arrive by chance. Say [to those who come]: 'I have been blessed [by your presence].' Let the ceremony of the initiation with the sword (*pāhul khaṇḍe dī*) then be performed. Having sweetened [the initiation water], administer it to the candidate. As they initiate him, [those who are performing the ceremony] should teach him the following mantra:

By your grace I seek your protection, O Vahiguru Sri Akal Purakh.
The Khalsa is yours, by the grace of the Guru!

They should also recite the [first] five stanzas of Anand and then offer Ardas [on behalf of the novitiate, explaining to him]: 'Sri Akal Purakh is present with the Khalsa when Ardas is offered.' Then they should stand and, with palms joined, declare: 'This Sikh has come under the protection of Sri Guru Akal Purakh and the Khalsa. Grant that he may receive the faith enshrined in the Khalsa of Sri Akal Purakh. Let him remain steadfast [in his loyalty], and may his desires and aspirations be fulfilled.'

[The initiate should wear] a sword-belt of steel or of gold [chain], depending on the degree to which the Guru has blessed him with wealth. Alternatively, [a sword-belt made from] steel can be coloured gold. He who [wishes to] wear a gold sword-belt should fuse the gold with steel wire and having thus produced the colour of gold, wear [the resultant alloy belt].

If any Sikh is unable to make an offering of a rupee and a quarter as specified above let him give a single pice or, alternatively, [kaṛāh] prasād worth seven pice. Let him present this offering with an Ardas.

[If he is unable to afford new clothes] he should wear laundered garments. It is preferable that he should have his own [five weapons], but if he does not have them, let him carry those of some other Sikh when he receives initiation.

Following [the actual ceremony of initiation] saffron should be sprinkled on his clothes. If there is insufficient for all his garments sprinkle [what is available] on his turban. Give him a portion of [kaṛāh] prasād to eat. The coconut and [money] offering should be delivered to the [newly-initiated] Sikh and a wad of betel leaf should be given to him to eat. 1.

2

Those who offer Ardas in the presence of [a gathering of] the Khalsa should themselves be Khalsa Sikhs. He [who does so] should free his mind from all awareness of place and circumstance, concentrating only on [the presence of] the divine Guru. Thus absorbed [in the divine presence] he should humbly listen to [his] petition. [During its recitation, those who are present] should not converse with each other. Having concluded the petition they should say: 'This Sikh makes his petition. May Guru Baba Akal Purakh grant him his wish.'

Wherever [Sikhs] gather together, let there be mutual respect and

affection. Let all show respect for each other when they sit together, converse together, eat and drink together. Let them show each other the same respect and affection that a Sikh would bestow on the Guru. Do not talk excessively. Love the [Guru's] sacred utterances (*bāṇī shabad*) as the *chakor* loves the moon and the moth a lamp, as a greedy person loves possessions, or a sleepy person [his] bed. As hunger craves the taste [of food], as ants huddle together in their swarm, and as a magnet attracts iron, [thus should the devout Sikh love his Guru]. He should love the divine Word (*shabad*), the divine grace (*charan kanwal*), the divine presence (*darashan*), and the divine Name (*nām*). Let him endure all things with self-restraint and honesty, patience, grace, and faithfulness.

Fasting is an obligation [for Sikhs]. What manner of fast should one observe? [A Sikh] should fast with his eyes and his tongue, with his ears, hands, feet, sexual impulses, and nose. His eyes should not look upon another's woman or wealth. His tongue should utter neither falsehood nor malice, and it should not be used to serve an excessive appetite for food. Take what comes as a matter of course [and do not seek more]. Let your ears hear no slander. Do not let your hands take another's property nor touch another's woman. Do not set your feet on the path of evil enterprise. Direct your sexual impulses away from all except your own wife. Do not submit [to base instincts]. Keep your nose from smelling tobacco. Smell only pleasant fragrances. If a Sikh keeps his attention focused on the Guru, he will eventually find that this [kind of] fasting comes as naturally as breathing and that he remains ever aware of [the presence of] the Guru Sri Akāl Purakh. At life's end many will lament [their folly]. Already they wail, [anticipating the fate that awaits them]. Gods and men, sages, *pirs*, prophets, sanyasis, celibate ascetics, and whoever else one may name—all cry in anguish to be delivered from the ultimate disaster.

The [spirit of] service enjoined by the Sikh faith grows from loving devotion [to the Guru]. Whenever [a Sikh] enters a Khalsa *saṅgat*, some of the Sikhs sitting in the area which he approaches should show him respect by rising. With affectionate consideration they should then find him a seat in their midst. He who follows these instructions shall acquire [a true understanding of] the Sikh faith and the bliss [which it imparts]. He shall find his home within the Khalsa, the divine court of the Guru. While living this life he shall obtain that deliverance [which most believe comes only at death].

Tobacco should be regarded as poison and, as such, rigorously avoided. Why? As it is said, one suffers the consequences of one's own

deeds. It is an evil thing [and must therefore produce evil consequences. Even though one may find it attractive, it must still be dangerous], as when one develops an [excessive] taste for something pleasant. The result of excessive consumption is indigestion and serious discomfort. Remember also that the penalty of keeping bad company is punishment and shame. Pleasure may have been the objective, but pain is the result. Thus it is with tobacco.

In any place other than a Khalsa assembly, each person should be accorded the respect due to his particular rank or status. If you happen to hire a Khalsa Sikh as a servant treat him as a son. He will regard you as a father and respect you accordingly.

Accept the utterances of the Guru (shabad bāṇī) as the Guru incarnate. Acknowledge whatever is expressed therein as your Guru's command. Obey [the words of sacred scripture] as you obey the visible and existing assembly of the Guru's followers (dīvān). Let each Sikh serve the Khalsa as he would attend to the needs of the Guru himself. Though an assembly may dissolve, a Sikh of Vahiguru Nirankar Akal Purakh remains within the Khalsa [forever]. If he wishes to speak with the Guru, let him read a shabad and he shall have complete satisfaction. If he wishes to enter the presence of the Guru (darashan), let him go to wherever members of the Khalsa may be gathered. Whether few or many, [they represent the Guru and he who wishes to have the blessing of the Guru's presence] should join them, reverently and with affection. Thus shall he stand in the presence of the Guru. This is beyond all doubt.

No Sikh should ever act irresponsibly. He should behave as in the sight and service of the Guru. Nor should he be impatient. The Guru is the Supreme One, [and in due time] will appear as the incarnation of mystic light. In the fullness of time the yuga will change [replacing the present evil age by the Satiyuga]. How will the incarnation of mystic light be announced and by what sign will he be recognized? How will Sikhs [perceive that the Guru has returned] and how will people recognize him in the incarnation which he will have assumed?

[There will be seven signs.]

The first will be that his body casts no shadow.

The second will be that he is raised above the ground by a distance equal to the breadth of two fingers.

The third will be that he neither eats nor drinks.

The fourth will be that all people, regardless of where they may be standing, will find that he is facing them. Whether in front of him or behind, to his right or to his left, all will cry, 'He is looking at me!' They

will present their petitions to him, declaring: 'The Gracious One has come amongst us.'

The fifth will be that every offering made [to the Guru] will be accepted and yet, in accordance with the word which he speaks, will remain with the Sikh who proffers it. Pleased [with the offerings, the Guru] will say, '[Your gift] has been accepted. Now give this cowrie or this farthing to [deserving] Sikhs or to those in need.' Many gifts will be made at that time and joy shall come to all.

The sixth will be that, because the Guru's body consists of light, it will be impossible to grasp it with one's hand. Touch it, and you will feel nothing. It will be as if made of air.

The seventh will be that he has no known parents. He will assume his incarnation by his own volition. 2.

3

Do not be boastful [and commit none of the following sins]: malicious criticism, debauchery, treachery, slander, theft, fornication, jealousy, meanness, avarice, [acts of] violence, pride, lust, wrath, giving a false impression, covetousness, and greed. Spurn them all. Never utter falsehoods for your own benefit, though a lie is justifiable if it benefits another. If you are able to assist another, leave your own work and do his for him without placing him under any obligation. Seek the guidance of the Guru (*gurū bābe nirankār*) in your worldly dealings to determine whether or not they be practicable. Do not cause grief or anguish to anyone. Be persistent in all your endeavours.

Do not laugh [at another's misfortune], for scorn will get you into trouble at the final reckoning. [You should realize that] he whom you mock acts in accordance with the fate decreed by his birth. Do not pour scorn on one who receives his portion of good and bad fortune in accordance with the divine decree. He who does so will have his actions scrutinized at death. [At all times] let the Guru, the Supreme Guru, be your protector. 3.

4

Let us now consider the position of a woman who wishes to follow the Sikh way and enrol in the Khalsa of Sri Akal Purakh. The procedure [in her case] is as follows.

If the woman's husband is still alive, she should put on good clothes,

either new or freshly laundered. These clothes should be black. Why should they be black? So that if the cuffs of the garment are worn in the wrinkled style (*chūṛīān dār*), they will [still be] cuffs. The skirt should be drawn up to the waist, just below the navel, and the bodice should be neatly and properly adjusted. A male Sikh, one known to be a worthy disciple of the Guru (*guramukh*), should administer initiation to the Sikhni. Having offered *Ardas*, he should instruct her: 'Learn to read *Gurmukhi* and read the sacred scriptures in a spirit of loving devotion.' Sikhnis who accept this responsibility should gather together to study the scripture. She who obediently serves her husband shall receive the blessings of the Sikh faith. 4.

5

In the case of a widow the ritual for conducting the ceremony of initiation is as detailed above, except that saffron should not be sprinkled on her. As already indicated saffron should be sprinkled on a male [after he has been initiated] and likewise on a woman whose husband is still alive [but not on a widow]. She should wear a steel wrist-ring and live a life of chaste virtue.

A Sikh should greet another by saying, 'Victory to *Vahiguru*! May *Sri Akal Purakh* protect you.'¹ The other should then reply, 'True is the *Khalsa* of *Sri Akal Purakh*.'² These words, when uttered by each of them in sincerity, will bring their due reward in this life, regardless of whether the speaker be a man or a woman.

How can one know that [the reward has been secured] when death has intervened, and how can one respond under such circumstances? Let what happens after death find its fulfilment after death. He who lives in accordance with [the meaning imparted by] these words shall have his reward in the here and now. The seeds which one sows here shall here produce their crop, and that which the Guru bestows [on us] shall be available in the hereafter as well [as in the present]. 5.

The second chapter of *Prem Sumārag* has been completed.
It concludes with the sacred mantra of the divine Name.

¹'*fateh vāhigurū / sṛī akāl purukhu jī kī sarani.*'

²'*sati sṛī akāl purukhu jī kā khālsā.*'

Chapter 3

Birth

The ritual to be observed for one born into the Khalsa of Sri Akal Purakh

1

When a Sikhni becomes pregnant, recite Japu[jī] and Jāp, and administer baptism of the sword (*pāhul khaṇḍekī*) to her. Unsheath a sword and lay it in front of her, together with a bow and five arrows. [These weapons may be placed] in a niche in the wall or in some elevated place [which is visible to her]. 1.¹

Then say to her: 'In the presence of these weapons, you are in the presence of the Supreme Lord. If the Guru so desires, your delivery will be speedy.' She will then relax and rest at ease. Tell her also to recite the following mantra: 'Sri Vahiguru, Sri Guru, Sri Akal Purakh, grant me your protection.' Let her repeat [this mantra] silently and aloud. [If these instructions are followed] the child born [to her] will be a loyal disciple of the Guru and a member of the Khalsa. 2.[1]

2

[Sub-sections 1 and 2 are missing.]

¹From the third chapter onwards, sub-sections of each chapter's sections are numbered.

As soon as a son is born, observe the following procedure. First, [take the child] and touch his forehead on the floor in front of the sword (*sī sāhib*), the [other] weapons, and the sacred Granth (*granth pothī*). Then place him in front of his mother. Touch his *gurhaṭī*² with a two-edged sword (*khaṇḍā*) and administer it to him. Then offer the following petition (*aradāsi*) [to Sri Akal Purakh]:

This child has been sent by you. Keep him in your protection. Grant him courage, the spirit of service, and sound health. Good fortune has brought him [to us]. Let us, with him, have no ties with the transient world, save only those of the Sikh faith. 3.

Recite this prayer and suppress worldly affections. On the day of his birth distribute whatever [kaṛāh] prasād you can afford to members of the Khalsa and kinsmen. Ensure that for the space of seven days, the mother can continue to see the naked weapons from wherever she gave birth to the child and from where she subsequently sits or sleeps. On the seventh day mother and baby should be bathed on the bed where the birth took place. 4.

After they have been bathed let them sit in a warm place. At mid-morning, bring out two [low] wooden stools (*chauakīān*)³ and, laying them [together] on the ground, plaster them with earth. Next drive [four] spears into the ground, one at each of the four corners of the [adjacent] stools, and spread over them a quilt of double thickness (*dulāī*). On one of them, the mother should sit with the baby, and on the other the father. All should be clothed in the best garments which, by the Guru's grace, they can afford. The child's mother should wear red and the father white. Form a screen around the platforms by hanging a length of cloth from the spears. 5.

[Take a small] white shirt (*jāmā*) opening at the front and a white turban. Colour both [garments yellow] with either saffron or toon-dye. [Add to them] a small kachh of some other colour, a rudimentary turban (*paṭakā*), and a small steel dagger (*jamadārī*). Select all these articles in accordance with the size of the child and clothe him in them. Then place him in his mother's lap. Prepare as much of the kaṛāh [prasād] of Sri Guru Baba Akal Purakh as means permit. Make an offering of seven betel leaves, a coconut, and whatever else can be afforded. Administer

²The sweet substance prepared from coarse sugar given to a newly-born child soon after birth.

³Sing. *chauakī*. The term today is used of a team of ragis employed by Harimandir Sahib.

baptism of the sword (*pāhul khaṇḍe kī*). Then put all [the offerings] in a large dish (*prāṭi*) and place it, together with the *kaṛāh* [*prasād*], in front of the stools on which the Sikh and his wife are sitting with their child. Let [the offerings] be set in a position higher than the stools. 6.

Five worthy Sikhs [should then stand before them], all five knowledgeable in the scriptures. One of them, who must be a loyal disciple of the Guru (*guramukh*) and a member of the Khalsa, should act as leader. Ideally he should be of the same lineage (*kul*) [as the child's father], but if that is not possible, someone else should be invited to discharge the responsibility. Let him offer the following prayer of petition (*aradāsi*) before the child and his parents:

The Lord has sent this child, born of this Singhni. May he receive the faith manifested in the Khalsa of Sri Akal Purakh. May he be blessed [by Sri Akal Purakh]. May he discharge the obligations which he owes to his Creator. May he render due service to his parents, and by his deeds may they attain honour. 7.

The [first] five stanzas of Anand should then be recited and a final blessing pronounced. After this has been done, take the child from his mother and bring him outside the screen, together with his clothing and weapon. Bore a hole in his ear and insert an ear-ring made from either gold or silver. Administer baptism of the sword and repeat the divine Name mantra as given above. 8.

Ensure that the boy's hair remains uncut from birth. Do not harm his kes. Leave it untouched. Bestow the name 'Singh' on him. Then return the child to his mother's lap, together with two of the betel leaves. Place before him the five [remaining] betel leaves, the coconut, the [*kaṛāh*] *prasād*, and whatever else has been given as an offering. The family bard (*bhāṭi*) or barber should then sprinkle saffron or toon-dye on the father's clothes. 9.

Let the *kaṛāh* [*prasād*] then be distributed to all Sikhs and Sikhnis who are present, as well as to kinsmen. Place garlands of flowers around the necks of the parents and their child, and fasten on the child whatever ornaments the Guru may have bestowed [on his family]. Observe all the directions [set forth here for the performance of the rite]. 10.

The entire prescription should be followed even though the child's father may be away from home or absent in some foreign land. In his place let someone else put on his ceremonial sash (*paṭakā*) and act as a substitute. Let the ceremony then be performed [in the normal way]. The child's mother should wear neither bodice (*choli*) nor nose-ring, but in all other respects the regular form should be followed. 11.2

3

In the case of a daughter, the procedure is as follows. On the ninth day [following the birth] the mother and baby should be bathed on the bed [where the birth took place]. At the time of the actual birth follow the procedure detailed for the birth of a son. 1.

After the bathing has been completed the mother should dress and sit on a wooden bench (*paṭara*). 2.

Unsheath a sword (*bhagaufi*), sprinkle red lead [on it], and drape a garland over its hilt. Then lay it on a stool in front of the mother and her baby. 3.

Clothe the infant in a loose dress (*jhaggā*), hat and bodice, [all] made from red cloth (*sālū*). 4.

Administer initiation of the two-edged sword. Name the child, adding 'Devi' to the [chosen] name. Pierce nose and ears. 5.

Prepare and distribute *kaṛāh* [*prasād*] as means permit. Then say the prayer of petition indicated [above]. 6.

The third chapter of the *Prem Sumārag Granth*, the chapter detailing birth and naming procedures, is ended. 3

May Sri Akal Purakh be my eternal Protector.

Tell the Lord if you have work to be done,
And in fulfilling your desire, the Satiguru will give proof of his power.
Taste that most precious nectar of life by joining with the company of the devout.
He who in his mercy drives away fear, shelters, and protects his slave.
Sing the praises of God, Nanak, and behold the ineffable Lord. ⁴

⁴Guru Ram Das, *Sirī Rāgu kī Vār* 20, AG, p. 91. Randhir Singh, *Prem Sumārag Granth*, p.26, attributes this *paurī* to Guru Arjan.

Chapter 4

Marriage

1

The procedure is as follows. When a girl reaches a suitable age for marriage her parents should endeavour to arrange a marriage for her. During [the present age of] the Kaliyuga it is preferable for a girl to be married young. With what kind of family (kul) should one make a marriage arrangement? [Look for a family] that follows the teachings of Sri Akal Purakh. Let it be a Khalsa [family], whether poor or successful. [With such a family] one may unhesitatingly arrange a marriage. [Such people] are bound to Sri Akal Purakh, caring nothing for wealth and possessions. Put your trust in the Guru (*guru nirāṅkār*) and arrange the marriage. If the Guru so wills the girl will find much happiness and bring joy to her parents. 1.1

2

The rite of marriage, which others call *biāh*, has come to be known as *sañjog* [or 'union'] within the Khalsa. Do not conduct a marriage after the manner of the worldly. First, make the necessary arrangements so that the ceremony may be held on the fifth day of the light half of a month. How should this be done? A month and a half before the date of the marriage send the bridegroom money, sugar candy (*misarī*), a set of

clothes, and weapons, together with a sword-belt of gold chain. Send whatever you are able to afford. If you cannot afford gold then let it be steel, but it must at least be gilded. 1.

Send the bridegroom's mother clothing, a coconut, and a set of bangles. Spend whatever you are able to afford on these items. The catering for the wedding should likewise be decided in accordance with your means. Follow the instructions given here and do not try to imitate [the expensive ostentation of] those who are worldly and proud. The father of the bridegroom should determine his expenditure as follows. He who possesses assets amounting to only 100 rupees should restrict his spending to 25 rupees; whereas he who has been blessed by the Guru to the extent of assets worth 1,000 rupees can afford to run to 250 rupees. Each thus remains within approved limits. 2.

The father of the bridegroom should ensure that his arrangements are made within the appointed month and a half. The father of the bride should ensure that within the month and a half, all business dealings within his family have been completed. 3.

When only five days remain before the marriage the bride's diet should become dal and rice with ghee. She should not eat bread (*roṭī*). Custom decrees that she should be given [only] soft foods. She should be clothed in red garments and for five days [her skin] should be rubbed with fragrant ointment (*baṭanā*). Before sleeping and when she awakes she should recite the following [prayer]: 'Sri Akal Purakh, grant me your protection. This marriage is in your hands. Grant that it may be duly celebrated.' She should make this petition [regularly]. During this period of five days, she should not worship any god or goddess. 4.2.

3

On the actual day of the marriage the bride should arise in the second watch [before morning]. She should then be given *kaṛāh prasād* and a small meal. 1.

Let the actual wedding ceremony be performed during that most delectable period, the last watch of the night. First smear wet earth (*pochā*) on the ground. Within this area, excavate a shallow pit, one-and-a-quarter *gaz* in length, a quarter of a *gaz* wide, and a quarter of a *gaz* deep.¹ Bring two low stools made of wood and place them on either side of the pit, one to the north and one to the south. 2.

¹ 1 *gaz* equals approximately 1 yard or 90 cm.

Clothe the bride in a new gown (*cholā*) and embroidered shawl (*chop*), apply henna to her hands and feet, spread a new quilt on the stool placed at the southern end of the pit, and seat the bride on it, facing north. 3.

On each side of the stools fix two spears in the ground, each of them one gaz in length. The stools will thus be flanked by spears. Between the spears, on opposing sides, stretch over the two stools a canopy made from red threads (*maulī*). 4.

Weave a red-thread head-dress, apply saffron to it, and place it on the bride's head. 5.3.

4

The procedure to be followed in the case of the bridegroom is as follows:

Four days before the wedding give the bridegroom goat meat and wheat bread (*phulkā*) to eat. Do this at noon. When night comes give him as much milk as he can drink. Prepare wads made from betel leaf, nutmeg, mace, clove, musk, and a small cardamom, and during the course of the full 24 hours, give [him] 10 such wads to eat. 1.

Rub fragrant ointment [into his skin] and have him silently repeat the following mantra:

Sri Akal Purakhji, I seek your protection. Let this union be consummated according to your will. Watch over us, for without you we are nothing. Preserve my honour and reputation. 2.

On the day [before] the wedding, have the boy washed with warm water on [his] stool one gharī² before the end of the last watch of the day. 3.

[As already indicated] spears should be fixed in the ground on all four sides [of the bridegroom's stool] and a canopy strung from them. Wash [the area] under [the stool]. 4.

[The bridegroom] should then repeat seven times: 'Sri Guru Akal Purakh, I seek your protection.' 5. [He should] also [repeat]:

There is one Supreme Being, the Eternal Reality, the Creator, without fear and devoid of enmity, immortal, never incarnated, self-existent, known by grace through the Guru. 1³

No visible sign, neither caste nor lineage; no form to describe, neither features nor attire. You are the Eternal One, self-enlightened and of infinite power.

²24 minutes.

³*Mūl Mantra*, AG, p.1.

Immortal One above all others, Emperor of all and Ruler of the three worlds; Eternal Creator, paramount over all beings, demon, human and divine; your nature is affirmed by the mantle of the forest, your infinity proclaimed by every blade of grass. Who can recount your names, O Sovereign? By your deeds alone can you be known. 2⁴

This sacred mantra should be repeated seven times. 6.

He should then don white clothing. The shirt (*jāmā*) should open at the front. The trousers may be of whatever kind are available. Over them he should put on cotton stockings and underneath he should wear short breeches. Every garment should be white. Finally he should put on a sword-belt as specified above. 7.

Let him also wear any ornaments which, by the Guru's generosity, he may possess. He may wear a jewel bracelet, a jewelled turban ornament, a necklace of silver coins, or any other valuables he may own. If he possesses his own so much the better. If he does not own any let him wear borrowed [ornaments]. He should certainly wear gold ankle-chains. His head-dress should be a gold *sehrā*⁵ with strings of genuine pearls. This should be tied over his forehead [with the strings of pearls thus suspended over his face]. 8.

Put a garland of flowers around his neck and another on his head. Sprinkle saffron on his clothing. 9.

Early in the day give him a meal of curried meat. Then have him chew spiced betel-leaves. 10.

Two gharīs after [the first watch of the] night has begun he should mount [his horse] to the accompaniment of music. Apply plenty of sweet-smelling perfume to his clothes. 11.

Before mounting he should don a sword. 12.

When the bridegroom reaches his [future] father-in-law's [house], he should inwardly repeat [the name of] Sri Guru Akal Purakh. 13.

Whatever money may be bestowed on the bridegroom during his ride should be thrown [towards him]. 14.

All [who accompany the bridegroom] should proceed [with him] to whatever place has been set aside for him by his [future] father-in-law's family. There they should sit and listen to Anand being sung. 15.

The place where the bridegroom rests should be kept fragrant with the smoke of burning aloe-wood. 16.

The bridegroom should have betel pressed on him persistently and

⁴*Jāp Sāhib*, DG, p.1.

⁵Garland worn on the head by a bridegroom.

he should be able to hear a continuous singing of the scriptures. Thus shall all his desires be fulfilled. 17.4

5

The order to be followed for the wedding ceremony:

When, with the last watch of the night the hour of the actual ceremony arrives, seat the bridegroom on the northern stool, having first spread a new quilt [on it]. The boy should sit facing the south, opposite his bride. 1.

Unsheath a sword (bhagautī), apply red lead to it, and drape flowers [over its hilt]. Lay it along the western side of the pit. 2.

Stretch a screen of red cloth (sālū) along the bridegroom's side of the pit, separating the bridegroom and the bride. 3.

Deck the bride with her ornaments and seat her on the southern stool, facing the bridegroom. Keep the screen of red cloth between them. 4.

The bride's people should sit on her side [of the pit]; and members of the groom's wedding-party on his. 5.

All who are present should wear garlands of flowers around their necks. 6.

A Sikh of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa should then take his seat [before the gathering]. He should be one well-versed in the scriptures, a lover of the Guru's word, literate, firm without being overbearing, a man who has reached the age of prudence, one who entertains no foolish desire for worldly wealth, a loyal follower of the Guru (guramukh). Such a person should be seated and invited to conduct the marriage ceremony. Let him conduct the ceremony. 7.

He should proceed as follows. First he should address the bride:

[Before you is a young man] named. ... [He is] the son of ... and the grandson of ... His caste is ... jāti and ... baran.⁶ His complexion is ..., and he is ... years of age. He is a Khalsa of Sri Guru Akal Purakh and in accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh he has come here to marry you. [He is sitting] to the north in front [of you].

⁶The English language does not possess sufficient vocabulary to cope with the differences in caste terminology that one encounters in Indian languages. If we are translating into English, 'caste' must serve for both baran and jāti. They have, however, different meanings. The term baran (*varna*, 'colour') applies to the four-fold division into Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra. By contrast, jāti (Pbi. *zāt*) is used at a lower level, yet not so low as to qualify for the term 'sub-caste'.

These are the words which that gurmukh Sikh should speak. [8]

Having heard them, a gurmukh Sikh from the bride's side should [then] address her parents as follows:

This gurmukh Khalsa, concerned for the happiness of these two [young people], has spoken thus. Having heard and understood his words, give your answer. [9]

The bride should then be instructed to say:

This marriage is in accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh. I accept whatever my parents may command.

The parents of the bride shall then say: 'So be it. Let the marriage proceed.' 10.

The [first] gurmukh shall then address the father of the bridegroom as follows:

[Before you is the girl] named ... [She is] the daughter of ... and granddaughter of ... Her caste is ... jāti and ... baran. Her complexion is ... and she is ... years of age. She is a Khalsa of Sri Guru Akal Purakh and in accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh she has come here to marry you. [She is sitting] to the south in front [of you]. Her wish is to bring [your son] wealth, sons, happiness and fulfilment, and to look with desire on no other. Your bride enquires what dowry is traditionally expected. When this has been agreed, the material aspect of the marriage will have been settled and she will regard herself as a worthy wife. Declare whatever may be in your heart. 11.

Having heard this [declaration], the boy's father, his father's younger brother (*chāchā*), his father's elder brother (*tāiā*), or some other elder should respond on his behalf:

It is my good fortune that I am to be joined with a Khalsa family. Grant that I too may be a worthy member of the Khalsa. Sri Akal Purakh will fulfil all desires, both hers and mine. I am a man, she is a woman. Let us strive to ensure that the question of a dowry gives no cause for offence. It is enough that I, a lowly worm, should be married to this daughter of the Khalsa. Of the gift which is

Whereas jāti ('caste') designates the larger endogamous group, *gotra* (Pbi. *got*, 'sub-caste') specifies smaller exogamous lineages within a jāti. One solution to this problem of inadequate language is always to use the Hindi or Punjabi term. When translating *Prem Sumārag*, however, this method raises difficulties, for the author occasionally uses baran and jāti interchangeably. See for example section 12.17. Terminology relating to caste requires particular care and attention when used in translation. For caste as observed in the Sikh Panth, see *ESC*, chapter 5.

bestowed on this lowly worm, I shall keep safe whatever I am commanded to put aside. This promise is firm.

He should be required to repeat these words seven times to the bride's people and seven times to his own. 12.

After these declarations have been made remove the screen separating the bride and bridegroom. Place a garland of flowers around the neck of each. 13.

The bridegroom and bride should [again] seat themselves on their respective stools. 14.

Next, kindle a fire of *dhak* wood⁷ in the pit and pour on ghee. [The officiating gurmukh] should say:

Lord of the Fire! Sri Bhagautiji! ⁸ Sri Khalsaji! In accordance with the will of Sri Guru Akal Purakh, the daughter of ... and granddaughter of ..., ... by name, of ... complexion and ... caste (baran), has by the command of Sri Akal Purakh and at this auspicious time been married to the son of ... and grandson of ..., ... by name, of ... complexion and ... caste (baran). May both enjoy happiness forever. Let all [who are gathered here] bear witness.

This should be said seven times, and seven times ghee should be poured on [the fire]. Thus should prayer (aradāsi) be offered before Sri Bhagauti and the Khalsa. Join palms when repeating, 'Let all [who are gathered here] bear witness.' Let everyone, of whatever status, pour ghee on the fire. 15.

[The officiant] should then say to both [the bride's people and the groom's people]: 'By the word which has been spoken, this girl and boy have been married. To this, all [who are gathered here] bear witness.' This he should say seven times. 16.

After offering prayer (aradāsi) to Sri Guru Akal Purakh as prescribed above, he should say: 'By your command, these two persons have been wed. Let us rejoice! Let their days be spent in happiness and your praise, and may their union endure.' 17.

Both stools should then be moved to the west so that the bride and bridegroom are seated beside each other. They should sit facing the east with the bride on the groom's right. Tie the groom's sash to the bride's shawl, inserting a cardamom in the knot. 18.

⁷*dhak*: the tree *Butea frondosa*.

⁸Sri Bhagauti, strictly the goddess Devi, presumably here designates Akal Purakh in the form of a sword as the word *bhagauti* has already been used for a sword. It does, however, mean that Akal Purakh is being addressed twice in the officiating gurmukh's statement.

The place where the marriage is performed [should be kept fragrant throughout the ceremony] with smoke from a fire of aloe-wood. Keep the fire in the pit burning by adding ghee. 19.

[With the bride thus linked to the groom] perform the *lāvān*.⁹ The bridegroom should precede the bride as they walk around the pit, keeping it on their right. 20.

When they return to their stools, the [officiating] gurmukh declares: 'Bear witness you three—Khalsa, Sri Bhagauti, and Lord of the Fire. The first circuit has been performed!' 21.

Then sing the [first] *lāv* [stanza] as recorded in the scriptures. When one circuit has been completed, the first *lāv* should be sung. [The four *lāvān* are recorded as the four stanzas of the hymn in] *Sūhī rāg* by the fourth Master.

[There follows the complete text of Guru Ram Das's *Sūhī Chhant* 2.]¹⁰ 22.

When the second circuit has been completed, the second stanza should be sung. When the bride and groom return to the stools [a second time, the officiating gurmukh] says: 'Bear witness, you three! You are subject to the command of Sri Guru Akal Purakh.' 23.

Whenever a circuit is completed, cast ghee into the fire and say: 'Bear witness that a circuit has been completed in the marriage between ..., the daughter of ..., granddaughter of ..., and ..., the son of ... and grandson of ...' 24.

The four *lāvān* circuits of the marriage ceremony are thus performed, amidst a continuous wafting of smoke from the aloe-wood. Then extinguish the fire. 25.

The bride should then be seated on the left stool where earlier the bridegroom was seated; and the bridegroom should sit in the bride's place. 26.

Near the stools and in an elevated position, place *kaṛāh prasād* sanctified to the Guru, and offer this petition: 'In accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh, these two persons have been wed. May the Eternal Guru (*gurū bābā abināsi purakhu*) keep them in comfort and happiness.' 27.

Let the bride and bridegroom then receive the initiation by the two-edged sword (*pāhul khaṇḍe dī*). 28.

⁹At the time of marriage circumambulating a sacred object (in this case, a fire).

¹⁰AG, pp.773–74. For a translation, see TSSS (Manchester: Manchester University Press; reprinted 1990, Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp.118–19.

The parents of the bride should next link hands and together scoop *kaṛāh* [prasād] from the iron pan and give [the pan] to their daughter. [Her father] should then take her hand and, linking it with the bridegroom's, should say: 'In accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh, I give this daughter to this boy, together with her jewels, and, to the best of my ability, everything else that may be due. Rejoice, O Khalsa, and may their desires be fulfilled.' The bridegroom should then take the iron pan from his bride and consume [a portion of *kaṛāh* prasād from it]. 29.

The [first] five stanzas of Anand should then be sung, following which the *kaṛāh* prasād should be distributed to all who may be present at that time. 30.

After the five stanzas of Anand have been sung the iron pan should be taken from the bridegroom and a portion [of *kaṛāh* prasād] given to the bride. [This should be done] behind a screen. 31.

Next morning, more *kaṛāh* prasād should be prepared and distributed to relatives (*bhāt birādaṇ*), to Sikh friends, and to the families of friends. 32.

Take the boy and the girl to some place away from the site of the wedding. Remove the equipment used for the wedding from the site and store it in an appropriate place. 33.5

6

Wedding presents and traditional prerequisites should be distributed to the family *sepidars*¹¹ as one's resources permit. 1.

At the time of the marriage an appropriate wedding song (*mangalāchār*) should be sung. Both the bride and the bridegroom should be required to discharge whatever customs are observed by their respective families [on such occasions]. These should not include the worship of any goddess or god, nor any magical rite or incantation. Such practices bring no merit and, in the end, cause actual harm. They bring only shame and disgrace, both in this world and the next. Whatever conventions you may observe, do so in conjunction with the following petition (*benāfi*) to Sri Vahaguru Akal Purakh:

Gracious One, may happiness be conferred on these two persons. May the light of the Guru's teachings shine upon them and may they be united by love one for the other. May this girl regard her husband as her god (*paramesur*). May she

¹¹Those who perform *xp* for the family, i.e. traditional tasks such as laundry, carpentry, etc.

serve him accordingly and remain ever faithful to him. Let this boy regard this girl as 'half of himself' and care for her accordingly. From whatever the Guru may bestow, let them set aside a portion for him. Let them live a life of faithfulness to each other. A woman's guru-god is her husband. Let her look upon no other.

Offer this petition (*aradāsi*) so that all the ceremonies [which may be performed] attain their proper fulfilment. 2.

If the gurmukh who conducts the wedding ceremony takes nothing for his services, he shall receive merit equivalent to that conferred by a crore of *gurapurabs*. If, however, he accepts remuneration or reward, he shall receive the punishment fit for a crore of murders. 3.6

7

Late in the morning on the day following the wedding, [the bride's father] should provide breakfast for the members of the bridegroom's marriage party. Give them sweets, fruit, or some other kind of food. If possible, he should also invite members of his own *birādarī* and other friends to dine [at this time]. In the evening, he should give the marriage party a feast of meat, fish, and several other varieties of food. 7

8

The procedure to be followed on the 'night of connubial bliss' (*suhāg rānī*) [is as follows]. Four gharīs¹² before the close of the day the bridegroom should despatch a costume for his bride. This should include tight pants. It should also include a *burakā*¹³ of a kind which covers the head but provides an opening for ease of breathing. The opening should be covered by a net screen. This can be left down to serve as a veil (*paradā*) or, if so desired, raised to leave the face exposed. A buraka with these features should be supplied. No particular rules apply to its other features. A shawl (*oḍhaṇī*) made from red cloth (*sālū*) should also be included. There should be ornaments of gold and silver; flowers to wear; such perfumes as attar of roses, *choā*,¹⁴ and rosewater; betelwads; and any other adornments that he may be able to provide. These gifts should be brought to the house of the bride's parents, to the accompaniment of music, on the seventh

¹²One hour and 36 minutes.

¹³A *burqa*. This female garment, widely worn in Muslim societies, normally has two eye-holes and covers the wearer almost to her feet.

¹⁴A fragrant unguent made from four ingredients (sandal, agallochum, saffron, and musk).

day of the light half of the month, [which is] the third day of the marriage ceremony. 1.

The bride should be bathed in warm water and rubbed with fragrant ointment. She should then be clothed in the adornments sent by the bridegroom. 2.

When the time comes for giving members of the marriage party their evening meal the bride's parents should have a bed of superior quality prepared, with mattress and quilts. 3.

As their resources permit, they should provide [night] garments of good quality, ornaments, and food cooked in ghee. The bridegroom should be seated on the bed. 4.

The following petition (aradāsi) should then be offered:

Before Sri Akal Purakh and the Khalsa we pray for these two persons who, in accordance with divine decree, have been joined in marriage. As they are able to afford, the girl's parents have provided for them clothing, ornaments, night garments, money, food cooked in ghee, a fine bed, thick quilts, and all else that is required. [May their gifts] prove acceptable and may no fault be found with them. You who are the Khalsa, draw over them the curtain [of privacy]. Let these two persons find peace. On this 'night of joy', let them find happiness in the joy of Sri Guru Akal Purakh. And may the bride [faithfully] serve her husband. 5.

The 'night of connubial bliss' is for the bed ritual and for freedom from all other responsibilities. On that night, set out all that is required and prepare the place where it is to be spent. 6.

The bride should then join the bridegroom. [Sitting] together on the same bed they should join hands. Turning their minds to Sri Guru Akal Purakh, [those who are present] should then utter the following petition (benatī):

Most holy divine Name, by your command our two children have been wed. Grant them peace and love for one another. Wherever they may be placed, there may they remain united.

As far as possible they should observe the intention of this petition. [After it has been offered] the marriage should be consummated. 7.

Turn your minds to Guru Gobind at that time and inwardly repeat the divine Name. This should be done so that if [Sri Akal Purakh] should ordain conception as a result [of that first union], the child so conceived will be a faithful Khalsa of the Guru. 8.8

9

At what age should marriage be performed? A boy and a girl should be married when there is general agreement that they have reached the age of discretion. Let them be married at the age of seventeen years. The important thing is that both should still be young. Let them be married at such an age. 1.

Whatever both the bridegroom's people and the bride's have been able to afford [as gifts] should be accepted with courtesy and [with expressions of] pleasure. Relatives (birādarī) on both sides should be affable and should offer compliments. Let them refrain from gossip, demonstrating outwardly the benevolence that they should feel in their hearts. They should neither mock nor reproach any [who are present]. Anyone who speaks disparagingly of anyone else should be expelled from the gathering. Let him be readmitted only after he offers a humble apology. Thereafter he will taunt nobody. If that Sikh has learnt his lesson, take him back with forgiveness. Do this in the case of anyone who desists from criticising or mocking others. 2.9

10

On the morning after the 'night of connubial bliss' the bridegroom's marriage party should be given permission to leave. 1.

As means permit, sepidars of the family should be given [gifts of] clothing or money and sent on their way. If any sepidar demands extra from both [the bridegroom's] side [and the bride's], give him none [of the parting gifts] indicated above. It is the worldly and the conceited who act in this manner. A gurmukh Khalsa pays no heed to such matters. He realizes that he already possesses everything. 2.10

11

If the parents of the bride should visit the home of the bridegroom's [parents] and are there offered food, they should accept it. They should not shrink from doing so. It would be altogether wrong to refuse their food—the kind of thing which is done by those who accept worldly standards [rather than put their trust in Sri Akal Purakh]. To say, 'How can we eat in our daughter's house!' demonstrates the [kind of] pride [which is typical] of worldly people. To believe this sort of thing is wrong. Let there be no

such inhibitions within the Khalsa. When one is not actually negotiating [the marriage of] a son or a daughter, one should certainly visit and eat with them. When Guru Baba [Nanak] mixed one man's dough with another's, he thereby established it as a rule that they [and thus all his followers] should eat together. A custom which contradicts this rule is bad. Who acts in this [misguided] way? It is a custom observed by the proud worshippers of all that is false, not by the Khalsa. Members of the Khalsa should eat with each other and serve each other the food that Sri Guru Akal Purakh has bestowed [on them]. They should continue to dine with members of families with whom they are linked through the marriages of their own children. Why [is this so]? Because the relationship is one established by the Guru. 11

12

With whom may a marriage be arranged? The first requirement is that within each caste (*baran*), all should be regarded as equal. All Khatri should be regarded as equal. Do not entertain notions of high and low castes (*jāti*) amongst yourselves. 1.

Whether Sarin, Bavanjai, Varahi, or Adhai,¹⁵ all should be regarded as one. Do not observe distinctions amongst yourselves. 2.

If it so happens that one takes a wife from some other caste (*jāti*) and they have offspring, do not attach any importance [to the caste relationship, regardless of whether the child be] a boy or a girl. Why [not]? A bridegroom should remain free [from caste contamination] and the girl [whom he marries] should be entitled to an honourable status. Though the girl [born from a mixed-*jāti* union] be the daughter of a servant, she should not be denied a reputable status. If she should become a Khalsa, regard [yourself as truly fortunate. Say:] 'Blessed am I that a daughter of the Khalsa is married to the son of a sinner (*pāpī*), such as I.' Take no pride in your own high and favoured status, nor in comparing it with what worldly people regard as her lowly mixed-caste status. 3.

Having grasped this principle, [the father of such a girl] should approach a reputable Sikh of the Khalsa who has a son [of an appropriate age]. Let him negotiate with [such a person, and if possible] reach a marriage arrangement. 4.

¹⁵The Sarin, the Bavanjai, and the Varahi (Bahri) are three of the four groups of Khatri sub-castes (*gotra*). Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes* (Lahore: 1916), pp.248–50. The fourth group is called Khokran. Presumably the Adhai corresponds to this group.

He who discriminates between high [caste] and low shall at death be delivered into the clutches of Yām. Severe will be his punishment. He will be reborn as a Muslim sweeper (*halāl-khor chūhārē kī jūni*) and will [spend his days] picking up ordure. 5.

He who knows something about [the caste of] a Khalsa [which the worldly would regard as] disreputable should keep it a secret. 6.

Proceed with a marriage arrangement for your son on the basis of what you know [about the girl]. Do not investigate the matter further [after the marriage has been solemnized]. Act in accordance with what you know about the girl. 7.

If, however, any taint should attach to the boy, and a group (*das pañj*) of worthy Sikhs should forbid [the marriage], do not accept [their command] though they represent the Khalsa. All Khalsa castes (*baran*) are pure. Proceed with the marriage between the girl and the boy. 8.

Within the Khalsa of Sri Guru Akal Purakh, no sense of separateness should be permitted. All become members of a single caste (*baran*) [within the Khalsa]. 9.

If, however, this proves to be impossible, then let [marriage] alliances be arranged according to caste (*baran*)—Khatri with Khatri, Brahman with Brahman, Sud with Sud, Arora with Arora, Suniar with Suniar, Bhatia with Bhatia, Rajput with Rajput, Lohar and Tarkhan as one,¹⁶ Jat with Jat. Arrange marriages within the various castes (*jāti*) and give no further consideration to the matter. 10.

If there happens to be a caste (*jāti*) within which marriages cannot be arranged, what is to be done in the case of a girl who has reached the appropriate time for marriage and for whom marriage with a Khalsa is mandatory? If it proves impossible to find a boy [from within the same caste], let a marriage be arranged for her with [a boy belonging to] some caste (*baran*) of similar status. 11.

Whenever this is necessary, let it be done as follows: Khatri can marry Brahman. Arora can marry Khatri. Suniar can marry Arora. Sud can marry Arora. Kamboh can marry Kaith. Kamboh can marry Suniar. Jat can marry Kamboh. Chhimba, Dhobi, and Kamboh can intermarry. Kalals can also intermarry with any of this latter group. Other castes (*jāti*) should similarly arrange marriages in this manner. Why is this necessary? Because the practice of trading in children has crept into the Khalsa. 12.

Eventually, in the fullness of time, there will be but one caste (*baran*).

¹⁶This combination provided the basis and substantially the numbers for the Ramgarhia caste.

The procedure [here described], the path [for the present age], has been determined by Sri Guru Akal Purakh. He who follows it will be acting in accordance with the requirements of his dharam. 13.

The alternative must be to merge as a single caste (*baran*) with the Muslims (*malechhān nāli*). [This clearly is impossible.] He who follows the path [specified above] shall remain a Khalsa. By the grace of the Satguru, the pleasures of the Kaliyuga hold no attraction for such a person. Knowing his own [people, the Satguru] summons them [to faithful discipleship] and daily watches over [them]. He in whom the Guru implants belief will [ever] call him to mind; and he who thus remembers [the Guru] shall in the end receive recognition [and due reward]. 14.

In future, if anyone asks a Khalsa his caste (*jāti*), let him reply, 'I am a Sodhi Khatri',¹⁷ and let him instruct [other Khalsas to respond likewise]. You must understand that the caste (*jāti*) which you thus acquire is a noble one. 15.

Do not exploit that status to engage in the trading of children. Let [marriage enquiries] be conducted wherever possible. 16.

The following rule should be observed. If you take a girl from your maternal grandfather's caste (*jāti*),¹⁸ then your maternal grandfather's [sub-caste] should be avoided for the previous three generations. Let the arrangement be made with any other [approved sub-caste]. 17.

Do not arrange [a marriage] with offspring of a paternal aunt (*phuphī*).¹⁹ Let the marriage be arranged with a permitted lineage. 18.

Another rule to be observed is as follows. Ensure that [*kaṛāh*] *prasād* which has been dedicated to the Guru is all eaten, with none being wasted. This is because all that is created is from Sri Guru Akal Purakh. The Khalsa is the ultimate reality, [the crown of creation]. How then can [its members] waste [that which is dedicated to the Creator]? 19.

The following rule should also be observed. Whenever anyone from these various castes (*jātān*) wishes to prepare [*kaṛāh*] *prasād*, he should proceed as follows. He should entrust the task to a Khalsa of a caste (*jāti*) different [from his own] and, with or without payment, have him cook and serve it. Khalsa Sikhs are, however, prohibited from accepting food

¹⁷The sub-caste (*gotra*) to which Guru Ram Das and all successive Gurus belonged.

¹⁸Presumably the author means the exogamous *gotra* (sub-caste), not the endogamous *jāti*.

¹⁹This would mean marrying a boy and a girl who were too closely related in terms of sub-caste background. The girl would be from a different sub-caste, but her mother would have had the same parents as the boy's father.

from members of the following castes (jātān): Chuhra sweepers, Chamars, Sansis, Dhanaks, and Kalals who distil spirits.²⁰ He may take food from other Kalals, but not from any of the other castes (jātān) enumerated above. Accept food only as specified above. This is because of the kind of work which they do.²¹ No other disqualification attaches to them. The people of Sri Guru Akal Purakh are all one. If all are in fact one, there should never be any discrimination within the Panth, [the community of] those who follow his path and are able to say: 'I am a Khalsa of Sri Guru Akal Purakh.' 20.12

13

The procedure for the conduct of a second marriage:

If a woman's husband has died, she should live a life of chastity and modest conduct after his death. 1.

It is, however, possible that her sexual desire may remain strong. Sexual desire possesses enormous power, sufficient to tempt adept ascetics and *rishis*, and seduce them from their dharam. It has assailed gods, sages, and ordinary mortals [as for example] Indra, Gotam (Rikhi), and Rikhi Sring.²² The stories of all who might be named in this context would fill a book. Much has been told in a few words of how Kamdev [the god of sexual desire] caused even the gods to be seduced and then, having been blamed [and punished, was restored] in human form. And how [he made use of] the female form, she who is seventeen times more alluring than a man. What is a man's existence without a woman? And what is a woman's without a man? 2.

If it so happens that a young man and his mother sleep in their house alone, do not assume that the requirements of the Rahit will be observed. Such a man may be in the grip of lust. Sexual desire ensnared supremely adept ascetics during the Satiyuga, the Tretayuga, and the Duaparyuga. Why should one be spared this particular condition during the Kaliyuga? It cannot be evaded. What man is free from it? And a woman is [by nature] less comprehending and less controlled [than a man], unable to distinguish what is good for her from what is harmful. Obstnacy pervades her whole being and when it comes to questions of what is beneficial and what

²⁰Khalsa Sikhs are forbidden to accept food from those who are regarded as Dalits.

²¹It is not because of their caste.

²²In Sikh lore, Indra Devata, Gotam Rikhi, and Rikhi Sringare condemned because of their lustful desires.

harmful, she is not amenable to reason. During the Satiyuga, the Duaparyuga, and the Tretayuga, the five evil impulses were as strong [as in present times]. In those [earlier] ages [though], there was no falsehood and so the blame [incurred by lapses] was mitigated. During the Kaliyuga, he who regularly commits such evil deeds as adultery may daily grow more pleased with himself, but eventually he will come to a sorry end. His virility shall disappear and great will be the punishment which he receives. 3.

A widow should act as follows: During the first year [of widowhood], she should remain chaste, and for as long thereafter as possible, she should continue to live a life of modest chastity. Adopt the following method: When night falls and the stars begin to shine, consume some rice-water gruel (*ogarā*) prepared from khichari. Let it be saltless and bland. Add a quarter of a seer of grain to five seers of water and simmer it through the day over a fire of charcoal or wood. When by evening [four-fifths of the water has boiled away leaving] equal parts grain and water add pepper and drink it as the stars begin to shine. Thus shall your self-control remain firm. Remain constant in your remembrance of Sri Guru Akal Purakh and in repeating the divine Name. By the Guru's grace, you will be able to do this with every breath. Do not wear dirty clothes, nor those which are made from fine-spun cloth. Give no encouragement to your appetite [for food], for encouragement to the appetite stimulates sexual desire as ghee poured on a fire makes it burn more fiercely. The welfare of each person, and likewise his respectability, is achieved by a life of chastity and restraint. This applies both to men and to women. 4.

If, however, no method or discipline works, then act according to your instincts, but without succumbing to fornication. Why [should one thus acknowledge the strength of one's instincts]? Because sexual desire is so very powerful. The best of men have been destroyed by it. On such people, fornication wreaks devastation and recording their deeds would produce a large book. I shall explain briefly. If [a widow] cannot survive [without satisfying her sexual desires, then let her remarry]. Let her do so within her [deceased husband's] circle of relatives. Her remarriage can be with any of its members, excepting only her father-in-law, her husband's elder brother, her husband's younger brother, her daughter's son, or her sister's son. 5.

If there are no suitable candidates within her own immediate circle of relatives, let her make enquiries concerning her father-in-law's relatives, both near and distant. 6.

If that produces no result, the enquiry should be extended to other

members of her father-in-law's caste (jāti). If here the quest is successful, she need look no further. 7.

If, however, it is unsuccessful, let her acknowledge the problem and offer this petition (benatī) to Sri Guru Akal Purakh: 'Keep me, a sinner, in your gracious care.' 8.

When it becomes evident that the writ of karma has determined that no suitable person is available, then, finally, the enquiry should be extended to respectable men of good family within other castes (jāti baran). 9.

Two groups are proscribed: the family of [her] maternal grandfather and [her] father's own caste (jāti). 10.

All others, however, can be regarded as permissible. 11.

Thus should a [suitable] man be selected. The two proscribed groups [indicated above] should be avoided. 12.

If a widow has children, whether female or male, on no account should she remarry. 13.

Anyone who marries for lust should be expelled [from the birādārī]. The man who becomes the second husband of a woman with children should also be expelled and none should have dealings with him. 14.

If, however, a woman has had children who have not survived and has had none thereafter, she can be advised to remarry in the manner indicated above. 15.13

14

The procedure for conducting a [woman's] second marriage is as follows. [First] the woman should summon five male or female Khalsa Sikhs from her father's family (*peke*). She will humbly ask them [for permission to proceed]. They will [endeavour to dissuade her by] answering: 'Daughter! How much better to maintain your chastity. Do not let yourself be tempted. Do not do wrong. The eventual result of this intention must be harmful. You will be disgraced and you will suffer distress [so agonizing that] it does not bear mention. It is much better to remain loyal to your dharam. This is the truth of the matter.' 1.

The woman should then spend 31 days with her father or with other members of her family or caste (jāti), having first made her request known to them. If she no longer has a father, she should stay with some other close relative. 2.

On the fifth day of the light half of the month, 15 days in advance [of the event], the man to whom she is to be married should be told, 'You are to be married to the daughter of. ...' [This information should be]

accompanied by five betel leaves and 21 cloves, together with the woman's bangle. 3.

The man should then send back a woman's nose-ring (*nath*), a decorative thread for her hair (*maulī*), and henna, together with the message: 'I obey the command of Sri Guru Akal Purakh. I accept [the proposal].' 4.

At daybreak on the fifth day of the light half of the month, during that most pleasant of times [the last watch of the night], the man should take new clothes [comprising] a length of fine red cloth (*sālū*), a short dress (*ghagari*), a black bodice (*choli kajali*), a pair of tight pants (*suthan*), a shawl (*lāichā*), whatever ornaments he can afford, and other adornments appropriate for a wedding. He should take these and go wherever the woman may be. 5.

[Before departing] the man should apply fragrant ointment, bathe, and put on white clothes. Having strapped on his sword, he should sprinkle saffron on it. He should eat seasoned betel leaf, fasten a feather plume to his turban, and tie a gold chain around each ankle. His turban should be decorated with jewellery, and he should wear an encrusted bracelet and a garland of flowers. Thus arrayed he should mount his horse at daybreak and in the company of a few companions set off, with cymbals clanging as they ride. 6.

Meanwhile the woman's relatives from her father's family should respectfully prepare a special place [for participants and guests] to sit. 7.

There they should spend the entire day until evening, singing the Anand and [other] auspicious hymns. 8.

The woman's relatives from her father's family should bring a meal there twice during the day. 9.

At nightfall, the woman should be bathed and rubbed with fragrant ointment. She should then be clothed in new garments made from cotton cloth (*khadar*). First to be put on should be a pair of tight pants (*suthan*) made [of cloth woven from thick] five-stranded [cotton] and fitting the leg snugly. Next should come a tunic (*aṅgā*) made from five-stranded [cotton], with sleeves which conceal the hands and fingers. Then a head-covering, [also] made from five-stranded [cotton, should be put on]. What kind [of head covering]? It should have eye-holes to see through and a screen of very fine cloth over the nose; and it should cover the head, the face, and everything down to a span below the neck. It should be made of cloth woven from five-stranded [cotton] and it should sit snugly on the tunic. Have this kind of head-covering, tunic, and pants made, and keep them [in readiness]. After the woman has been bathed,

rub her all over, from head to toe, with a *naragaṇā* perfume paste containing a high sandal content—at least as high as that of its other ingredients. Taking care to avoid the pupils of her eyes smear it over her face, hands, everywhere. Apply it so that not a trace of her body remains visible. While the smearing is in progress, the woman should continue to repeat this mantra: 'Holy Name, pure are you, O holy Name.' 10.

When the perfume paste has dried on her body clothe her in the three garments made from five-stranded [cotton cloth]. Put them on so that no part of her body remains visible, not even a portion the size of a needle's eye. Ensure that every part of her body is completely covered. 11.

Prepare a square of plastered earth where the ceremony is to take place. [Around it] fix four small spears in the ground, fasten red (*majūthā*) cloth and variegated thread (*maulī*) to them, thus constructing a canopy. Then bring two planks. Outside [the square formed by] the spears and on its northern side, dig a pit measuring one gaz in length, half a gaz in width, and half a gaz in depth. There too prepare a square of plastered earth. Then lay the planks within [the square formed by] spears, one to north along the side adjoining the pit and the other to the south. During the last watch of the night, in the fragrant hours of early morning, kindle a fire of dhakwood in the pit and get it burning well. Then begin the remarriage ceremony. 12.

Set a wooden stool midway between the two planks and place on it a naked sword. Apply red lead to the sword and lay a garland of flowers on it. Then seat the woman on the southern plank and have the man stand to the north of the woman at the edge of the pit and facing south. 13

Next feed the fire with ghee and direct the woman to jump through the Fire God's flames. [She should leap] over the pit from the side on which [her] stool stands to the northern side. [The officiant] should then say: 'Lord of the Fire, this woman (*jāmā*) has passed through your sacred flames (*hom*).' Then pouring on more ghee, he should say, 'You are witness [to it].' Sri Bhagauti [symbolized by the naked sword] will also bear witness, as shall the Khalsa Sikhs who attend [the ceremony] on account of either the woman or the man. 14.

The woman should then be instructed to sit on the northern plank, facing south. Stretch a cloth curtain along the pit, from east to west, with the woman on the same side as the pit and the man on the other side of the curtain. The woman's clothing should then be removed and cast into the fire, and the married women who are present should rub sweetened ghee over all her body. 15.

The officiating Gurmukh, [remaining] seated, should say: 'Lord of

the Fire, in accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh, this woman's body (*aṅg*) has passed through your sacred flames (*hom*) and [thus reborn] she is now purified. You are witness to it. Sri Bhagauti is witness, and so too is the Khalsa.' 16.

Let the woman then be bathed with warm water behind the curtain and clothed in the fine garments, jewels, and adornments which were brought by the man. 17.

Both planks should then be placed to the west [of the pit]. Seat the man and the woman on them with both facing east, the woman on the right and the man on the left. The woman should then receive sword initiation [as the rite of admission to the Khalsa]. 18.

Kaṛāh [prasād] dedicated to the Guru, the Formless One (*gurū bābe nirañkāṛ purakh kā*), should be prepared and placed on the stool. [The officiating gurmukh] should then say: 'A Khalsa, ... by name, of the ... jāti and ... baran, ... of complexion, has declared that he wishes to marry you.' 19.

Hearing this, the woman's mother should say to him: '... by name, ... by jāti and ... by baran, ... of complexion, is a Khalsa and he asks if he may marry you.' 20.

The woman should reply: 'I accept whatever Sri Akal Purakh commands.' 21.

In this manner, the woman gives the man an oral answer. The man responds by saying: 'It is good.' 22.

[The officiant] then adds the following [counsel]: 'Do not conceal [from each other] whatever worldly gains you may acquire. Look [with desire] on none save your own spouse. Let both live a life of strict fidelity.' 23.

[Next] he should pour ghee onto the fire seven times, saying [to the fire each time]: 'You are witness.' 24.

Then he should tie the knot [linking the man's sash to the woman's garment], inserting in it a betel nut. He should instruct the woman to sit on the left side of the plank and the man on the right. 25.

Next he should offer [the following] prayer: 'In obedience to divine command these two persons have been married and [now] remarried. [The husband] is a Khalsa, ... by name, ... by jāti, ... by baran, and of ... complexion.²³ Rejoice for what has taken place. By the grace of Sri Akal Purakh, may they dwell in comfort.' This petition should be uttered seven times before the Khalsa [saṅgat]. 26.

²³Details for the woman are included in the text in brackets.

The married women [in the sangat] should then sing the five stanzas of the Anand as a wedding song of blessing, remaining seated as they do so. Five Sikhs—and no more than those five—should be chosen as [formal] witnesses and should distribute the *karāh* [prasād]. Behind the screen, the man should give *karāh* [prasād] to the woman and the woman should give it to the man. 27.

Gifts should be given to the family sepidadars as resources permit and an offering made to Sri Guru Akal Purakh as a prayer (Ardas) [for his blessing]. 28

All should then arise and, as day breaks upon that delectable morning hour, they should return to their own homes. 29.

The union [of the newly-married] on their 'night of connubial bliss' (*suhāg rāti*) should take place on the seventh day [of the light half of the month]. The woman should again deck herself with flowers and other adornments, and clothe herself in garments as fine as can be afforded. When they come to each other, the couple should [exchange greetings] with palms joined and make petition (*benatī*) to Sri Akal Purakh as follows: 'Merciful Lord (*garīb nivāj*), our marriage has taken place [and we beseech you to] grant us wealth, sons and happiness. Let there be rejoicing and may our union endure.' 30.

The garments, ornaments, and other items specified for a [first] marriage should also be used for a second marriage. If these are available in your own house, well and good. If not, borrow them and return after use. 31[.14]

15

In accordance with the divine law and tradition, proceed as follows with regard to the *jāti* and *baran* of those who are being married. If the man's *baran* is of high status and likewise the woman's, he should have the five stanzas of the Anand recited while spears are fixed into the ground and the nuptial canopy is being stretched [over them]. 1.

Having prepared a square of plastered earth on the [chosen] spot, lay the planks [on it]. Administer sword initiation to the woman. Follow all that is set out above for the order of remarriage, except for the portion which refers to 'wrapping [the woman] in garments'. This should be omitted.²⁴ Everything else should be retained. 31.²⁵

²⁴This can apply to several of the instructions given above.

²⁵The number 2 has been omitted and the figure 31 has been written here by mistake.

When [their] names are to be announced, [simply] say: '... is [his/her] name, and [he/she] is a Khalsa.' Do this for both the man and the woman. 4.

If a man proposes to enter upon a second marriage with a woman of a lower caste (baran), he should proceed as follows. If she is a bought slave, he should place her in the home of someone of his own baran and relinquish all his rights over her [as purchaser]. She should remain there for 51 days. 5.

The people in whose home she stays should treat her as a daughter. They should have her take the sword initiation and thus become a Sikhni. 6.

She should then be directed to prepare the Guru's [kaṛāḥ] prasād. This she should do with a sense of awe, taking care that its purity is untainted. All [members of] the Khalsa [sangat] should be invited to eat it, and when it is served, this prayer should be offered: 'Merciful One, this woman desires to join with ... in a second marriage.' The assembled Khalsa should respond with the command: 'Let it be done.' 7.

The procedure [to be followed] is as follows.

In the case of a widow, have her dressed as indicated [above] and passed through the fire [as also indicated]. Follow the entire procedure detailed above. 8.

Mention both [the man's and the woman's] names at the point, which refers to '..., a Khalsa'. In other respects, follow the complete order as set down for a second marriage. 9.

If the bride is a virgin, belongs to a different baran [from the man], or is a slave (*dāsi*), [the man should] place her with a family of his own baran as already indicated. Follow the procedure detailed above. 10.

Then follows the [complete] marriage order. Adhere to it except at the place where names are given. [At this point] say: '... of the ... baran is a Khalsa of ... complexion.' Say it for both [the man and the woman]. In other respects, follow the order. 11.

One other feature should be observed. On the day of the marriage, having put on his wedding apparel, [the man] should go to his bride at daybreak and there have the ceremony conducted immediately. 12.

When the assistance of Sikhs is required for the performance of a ceremony, invite five to seven gurmukhs of the Khalsa to participate. 13.

If the daughter of a Muslim (*malechh*) should ask to become a Khalsa and marry a Khalsa Sikh, the procedure is as follows. First wash her and then carefully bury her in the ground. Ensure that she can breathe and that her eyes are protected, but otherwise bury her completely so that

no part of her can be seen. Dig her out almost immediately and wash her [again]. She should then say, 'Holiest of divine Names, the one Sri Akal Purakh.' [14]

After burying her in earth, give her a purgative [to cleanse] her stomach. Then smother her with aragajā perfume. Have her pass through fire as specified in the order for remarriage. Pouring ghee on the fire [the officiant] should call on the Lord of the Fire, the Khalsa, and Sri Bhagauti to witness, saying: 'Bear witness that this [woman] has, with all sincerity and determination, purged her body in the flames of the sacred fire and clothed herself a Khalsa.' 15.

Thereafter feed her pork for 51 days and then she will be purified. 16.

Next make her a Sikh[ni] in the [normal] manner by administering sword initiation. The following prayer should then be offered: 'This person has, in complete sincerity, assumed the garb (jāmā) of the Khalsa and become a Sikhni. Let us rejoice that Sri Akal Purakh has bestowed [on her] a desire to follow the path he desires. May she dwell in bliss.' 17.

Then have her prepare [kaṛāh] prasād and [let all gathered there] eat it from her hands. She will then be a purified Khalsa. 18.

When this has been accomplished, [the Sikh] who wishes to undertake a marriage or second marriage with her can do so. They should observe the procedure set out above. 19.

If the Muslim who wishes to become a Khalsa is a male, the same procedure should be followed [as for a woman]. 20.15

16

Any child of a second marriage can be married to a child born of first-marriage parents. This should be an occasion for neither gossip nor disapproval. Accept it with pleasure and do not discuss it in terms of high or demeaning status. Do not join with others in sneering at [such a marriage] and do not spread [malicious] stories [about it]. If anyone does this, he should be ostracized, both from your own company and from that of the Khalsa as a whole. Treat him as a reprobate and cast him out. This will ensure that others do not imitate his behaviour. 1.

He who accepts these words with ready favour, who treasures them in his heart, believing them and acting accordingly, shall obtain great and enduring happiness. He shall be content and Sri Guru Akal Purakh shall bestow eternal grace upon him. 2.

This is the way laid down by Sri Guru Akal Purakh, the way of love. He who believes in it shall obtain [both inner] joy and an exalted status.

Even he who denies the existence of Akal Purakh (*munakar*) shall eventually be convinced when all are convinced. A due reward awaits those who follow the way. They who believe in it shall know [true] happiness. A strong Sikh of the Khalsa shall arise and shall establish a mighty power wherein these principles shall be heard, obeyed, and imparted to others. Then shall joy abound. 3.16

Here ends the fourth chapter of *Srī Param Mārag*, the chapter detailing the procedure to be followed in the conduct of first and subsequent marriages. 4

Eternal Protector, Sri Bhagauti.

May Sri Akal Purakh be my eternal Protector.

Victory to the Eternal One, Sri Vāhiguru
[Grant] your grace

Chapter 5

The prescribed method for preparing food for eating

In order to prepare food, the first thing to be done by a Sikh of Sri Guru Akal Purakh's Khalsa is to carefully construct a place for eating it. Plaster [the chosen place] with earth and whitewash (*suped*) it. 1.

When grain is to be prepared [for cooking], pick it over, discarding the individual grains which should be rejected. Wash the remainder. 2.

Scrub a suitable pot, making sure that it is completely clean. Use lime (*kalāī*) to scour out the remains of whatever cooked food may still be in it. There is nothing wrong with doing this. To prohibit it is a mistake. If food is cooked with stale remnants [left in the pot], its flavour will be tainted. 3.

The task of preparing food is one to be discharged with great respect [for traditional procedures]. Do it only after bathing or [at least] performing the five ablutions. Recite the five stanzas of Anand, say 'Vāhiguru', and pour the grain [into the pot]. 4.

The food should be cooked over a slow fire (*maṭṭhū maṭṭhū āñch*). First put ghee into the pot. Then fry cloves, cumin, asafoetida or onions in it. 5.

When the seasoning is ready, add the grain and fry it. Then slowly add an appropriate quantity of hot water and simmer. Whatever has to be cooked should be fried. 6.

[Take] good, well-ground wheat flour (*āṭā mahīn*), knead it well, and

let it stand for three-quarters of an hour.¹ Then cook chapattis, parathas, thick bread (*moṣṭiān prasādiān*), or anything else [which can be made from wheat flour.] 7.

If rice is to be cooked first soak it for an hour and a half.² When it is time to do the cooking, have hot water ready. Strain the rice, put it in the [hot] water, and boil vigorously. When the rice is soft, remove it [from the fire]. Strain off the water, add ghee, and let it stand. 8.

Of all the foods the Guru has given ghee is the best. Do not skimp on ghee. Exercise restraint with other things, but take [plenty of] ghee and milk because they are good for you. Eating meat is not an offence. It too will make the body glow [with health]. 9.

When cooking food in ghee make sure that the place where it is prepared and eaten is in good order. 10.1

2

When the food is ready carefully prepare the place [where it is to be eaten]. Spread a rug, a blanket, or some other cloth covering, and sit on it clothed. Do not be superstitious about the place where you cook and eat. Eating and drinking is a gift [of God] and is [thereby] made pure. 1.

When the food is served and placed before you think of the Supreme Guru and say in all sincerity: 'Sri Akal Purakh, send some hungry Sikh of the Khalsa so that this food may be sanctified [by his partaking of it].' 2.

Whoever may happen to come should be accepted as sent by Sri Akal Purakh. Do not discriminate. [Whoever he may be] serve him food with care and courtesy, and ensure that he is satisfied. 3.

If no one calls then invite someone. If you happen to meet someone, well and good. Otherwise go and look for someone who is hungry. 4.

If you do not manage [to find anyone], put aside a serving of food. Then if any hungry Hindu, Muslim or Khalsa should happen to come, give it to him. Such food is acceptable in the divine court [and thus confers merit on its donor]. Of this there is no doubt. 5.

Then eat [your own portion]. Each time you take a mouthful reverently say 'Vahiguruji'. Do not let anything fall on the ground and do not hold on to the dish [while eating]. Thus should you eat. Keep your fingers together as you [pick up food and] eat. 6.

Include meat in your daily diet. Eat it regularly, in large or small quantities, as the Guru provides. If you omit it on any day, the food for

¹*dui ghaṛiān*: 48 minutes.

²*chār ghaṛiān*: 1 hour 36 minutes.

that day will not be acceptable [to the Guru]. It will be the kind of food which ghosts and spectres prescribe. Why is meat described thus? [It is described thus] because it smells best and gives the greatest satisfaction. For these reasons, it is the noblest of foods. He who eats it shall be purified. 7.

If you have food and someone who chances to arrive while it is being prepared accepts [an invitation to eat], do not say to yourself, 'There is very little. Why did he have to come?' That would be a most unworthy thought. 8.

Though you may have little give a warm welcome to whoever may come and share the food with him. Do not eat without him. [In sharing] you will obtain blessing and all obligations will have been discharged. 9.2

3

If you must travel to foreign places where your [culinary] regulations are not observed eat as the local people eat. Do not be apprehensive. Observe the local customs and eat well. 1.

For drinking water do as follows. Place the water jar in a clean, secluded place. The place should be elevated and cool. 2.

Sprinkle over the water fresh or dried rose petals, and a small packet of cardamoms. Leave them in the water jar. 3.[3]

4

In the aforementioned situation, the person [who is away from his own area] should regard all available grains as legitimate. The fastidious who say that you should not eat any particular grain are wrong. All grains are pure. Only the eater can be impure. In his company, the best of food is rendered impure and everyone spits it out.³ 1.

All edible root-crops are permitted. All that grows from the goodness of the soil is fit to be eaten. 2.

As such all greens are permitted. 3.

Eat as many of these [vegetables] as may agree with you. 4.

One must take care when eating meat, however, and likewise fish. Note first that wild animals may be eaten. Those which are killed with a weapon should be regarded as pure. 5.

[Domesticated animals] which are not hunted but are nevertheless killed with a single blow (*jhaṭakā*) may [also] be eaten. Even though the

³*pāpī siu tanu gaḍiā thukā paīa titu. Vār Āsā 19.1, AG, p.473.*

animal is only wounded by the initial blow, its flesh may nevertheless be eaten [when it is dead]. 6.

A diseased animal, however, must never be eaten. To do so would be abominable. [Its flesh would be] thoroughly polluted, regardless of whether it be killed in the chase, felled with a single blow, wounded [with a single blow], or has its throat cut [in the Muslim style]. All of these, if diseased, are banned. 7.

[Here Randhir Singh omits five sections on the grounds that they 'seem unnecessary'. Note, however, that they deal with kuṭṭha meat, a subject of particular interest in a rahit-nama. Note also that the next section is number 14, which means that six sections have been omitted, not five.]

What kinds of meat may be eaten? The best is wild boar (*bairāh*), then rhinoceros (*gainḍā*), various kinds of deer, goat (*bakarā*), sheep (*chhattarā*), and hare (*kharagoz*). 14.

What kinds of bird may be eaten? The best is crane (*kulaṅg*), then goose (*qāz*), wild goose (*magh*), wild duck (*murgāi*), various kinds of quail (*baṭērā lavā*), sparrow (*ṭarā-chiṛā*), dove (*ghughī*), pigeon (*kabūtar*), undomesticated cock (*karavānak jaṅgalī kukar*), heron (*buz*), black cuckoo (*kokalā*), and partridge (*tittar*). 15.

What kinds of fish [or water vegetables] may be eaten? The best is *rohū*,⁴ then water chestnut (*siṅghārā sālā*), aloe perfoliata (*khaggā*), shrimp (*jhūṅgā*), *jajhatī*,⁵ and the *palpal* [or] *vahiliā*. 16.

Anyone who is not particularly fond of eating fish should nevertheless do so occasionally. 17.

Milk should be drunk daily if possible. Why is it thus prescribed? Because it is the perfect life-giving drink (*amrit*). Imbued with all qualities it bestows upon the body a sense of supreme well-being. 18.

An hour after daybreak consume ghee made from cow's milk. During the winter, take it with two or three peppercorns (*mīrch*); and during the summer, add *triphalā*.⁶ To two full *sarasāhūs*⁷ of ghee, add triphalā equal in weight to a *damaṛī*.⁸ 19.

Take this [regularly] and your eyes will shine. No acids will accumulate

⁴A fish popular in Bengal.

⁵Another fish popular in Bengal.

⁶A herbal preparation used to overcome constipation.

⁷The sixth part of a kilogram (approximately).

⁸A copper coin, the smallest in circulation in British times. It was also used as a measure of weight.

in your stomach, your whole body will be sleek, and your mind will remain clear. The benefit [to your body] of these two *sarasāhīs* [of ghee] will be equal to that of twice as much food [of any other kind]. Keep away from the sun and you will derive full benefit [from the ghee]. 20.4

5

Where is it prescribed what one should eat, and why? All food and drink is pure. Why? Food has always been available and each person eats it without considering its source. Thus we are informed that however it may have been obtained it should be regarded as pure and eaten. There are, however, two kinds of people whose food should be proscribed. The first is the person who lives heedless of the Guru. Never take food from him. The second is he who, having provided food, claims that 'so-and-so ate here with me'. [Food from] any other person is pure, whether he be Hindu, Muslim, or anything else. Wherever you find an absence of pretension or enmity, there everything may be legitimately eaten and drunk. The worst food of all is from the person who eats without regard for the Guru. 1.

If having left [the place of] your own community (*panth*) to visit another, you should encounter people from other places engaged in worldly occupations, follow the commensal rule [stated above]. What should you do if you are not invited to eat? If that should happen, say [to your host]: 'Will your cook provide me with food from the common pot or should I make my own arrangements?' He may reply: 'You must eat from what I have in my house. Share my food with me.' [Rest assured that such] food is pure and there can be no objection [to eating it], though as long as possible, you should avoid that place. 2.

There is one other exception. Do not eat food that someone has offered to his particular god or goddess. Such food fouls one's understanding. As poison works on the body, so does food offered to favoured divinities corrupt the mind and destroy all sense of truth. It is as if a woman married to one man should eat the leavings of some strange man. She would be guilty of gross misdemeanour. Food offered to any save only the one true Sri Guru Akal Purakh is prohibited and must not be eaten. 3.

Never take intoxicants (*amal*). If, however, you should happen to do so, take the following. If you have consumed the *aphīm* variety of opium eat an equivalent quantity of large-grained *mūṅg*⁹ of the best quality,

⁹A kind of pulse.

seasoned with spices (*masālā*). If *masālā* is not available, drink three *māsās*¹⁰ of plain *bhaṅg*.¹¹ If you have taken opium of the *post* variety, soak two and a half small flowers [in water] and drink the resulting concoction. 4.

He who takes medicinal drugs (*dārū*) shall be cast into the deepest hell (*kumbhī narak*). Even though he takes them as remedies (*ilāj*) [for some ailment] he shall never obtain [the blessings of] the Sikh faith. 5.

Taking intoxicants is prohibited because they make the body lazy and induce one to neglect both [nam] *simaran* and worldly obligations. They prevent one from attending to these duties, drawing one to harmful drugs and developing a tasty addiction. Once an addiction is established, there is no escaping evil drugs. 6.

If you must take [intoxicants] then do so when you have leisure and no essential work. 7.

If you must take them do so in secret. Let no one see you. 8.

If you eat *bhaṅg* add two and a half *masas* of spices, comprising cloves, pepper, nutmeg, mace, saffron, and musk. Then it will do no harm. 9.

Here ends the fifth chapter of *Srī Prem Sumārag*. 5
Protect me in all my doings.

¹⁰Approximately one gram.

¹¹Cannabis.

Chapter 6

Responsibilities relating to the care of the body

1

He who is a Sikh of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa should arise during that fragrant early-morning hour, which is the last watch of the night. 1.

First proceed to the open fields and, having there performed your daily bowel motion wash your anus with water and blow [on it] hard from above [to dry it]. How should it be washed? It should be washed as one would wash a piece of soft leather. Having done so, thrust your finger in [the soil] seven times. 2.

When you urinate wash your penis also. Then rub your hand in earth and wash it three times. Next wash [your legs] from knees to feet. Thus it should be done. 3.

Next use a [frayed] stick [to clean your teeth]. Wash out your mouth and repeat the Guru's name. 4.

Then bathe, [ensuring that] your hair is washed in clean water. Wash in water [equivalent in volume to] the contents of seven small water pots, each holding seven seers.¹ 5.

¹A measure of weight approximately equivalent to one kilogram.

Then repeat the *Gur-mantra*² and recite portions from the sacred scripture (shabad bāṇī). 6.

At the beginning of the first watch of the day, perform kirtan. Intone one or two shabads from the Granth (granth pothī) as the Guru directs. [Finally], read the blessed Āraṭī and proceed with your daily labour. 7.

[At midday], after two watches of the day have elapsed, wash your hands, mouth, feet, and legs up to the knees, and recite the *Sodar Rahirās*. In the evening, repeat the *Gur-mantra*. 8.

At night recite shabads and sing kirtan. 9. When the need to sleep grows strong recite the *Āraṭī Sohilā* and retire. As you drop off to sleep fix your mind on Sri Vahiguru Akal Purakh. 10.1

2

Eat a little food early in the morning. If you are hungry, eat chapattis and lentils (*roṭī dāl*), perhaps with something else. 1.

Three or four ghaṛīs³ before the close of day eat some boiled rice. [Take it as] rice with lentils (*dāl-chāval*), khichari, meat and rice (*mās-chāval*), or pilau. Do not eat chapattis on both occasions. This is forbidden. 2.

If you are [still] hungry, eat something else, [but remember that] there is no satisfaction in eating beyond what is needful. 3.

Eat dried fruit by itself, not with other food. 4.

Fresh fruit costing a few paise may, however, be eaten with boiled rice. 5.

Eat only if you are hungry and learn to control your hunger. 6.2

3

How should one dress? Dress as the Guru's grace enables you to dress. 1.

Clothes, when first worn, should be washed after three or four days. Thereafter wash them after six or eight days. The Sikh of Guru Baba Akal Purakh who wears clothes for more than eight days [without washing them] shall suffer [for ignoring this rule]. 2.

As your means permit apply deodorant (*khush-boī*) to the clothes which you are actually wearing. 3.

²The *Mūl Mantra* (the Basic Credal Statement).

³Approximately 1 hour and 10 minutes, or an hour and a half.

The important thing to understand is that, in order to remain clean and pure, every Sikh of the Khalsa, whether man or woman, should be instructed to care for his or her clothing in this manner. 4.3

4

What clothes should [a Sikh] wear? First he should wear a turban consisting of a long piece of good quality cloth, and in it a feather plume. In addition, he can wear on his turban whatever the Guru's grace enables him to afford—perhaps an ornament of precious stones or a decorative cloth (*sarapech gosapech*). Wear whatever the Guru's generosity permits. 1.

[Wear] a shirt or tunic (*jāmā*) which opens down the front. 2.

Pants should cover the feet in the manner of stockings. If this variety is not used cotton socks should be worn with the pants tucked into them. 3.

Socks made of leather, wool, or any velvety cloth are particularly fine. 4.

Put on a sash, a sword-belt over it, and [finally] a sword. 5.

If by the Guru's blessing you possess a horse, mount it and let all other horsemen who are with you do likewise. 6.

[It is permissible to] wear pearl earrings and other male jewellery. 7.

Until the Guru provides the means of purchasing a curtained bed with a tester do not sleep on an ordinary string bed (*mañjā*). If you cannot easily obtain a curtained and canopied bed, [use a bed made by] fastening four wooden planks onto the frame of an ordinary bedstead. Cover this with a bedspread and sleep there. The important thing to understand is that one should not sleep naked on an exposed bed. He who sleeps [naked] outside a curtained and canopied bed will be afflicted with flatulence. If at any time one should have to get out of bed to urinate visit the fields or somewhere else. [If you are unable to sleep] cover your eyes with a cloth and spend half an hour (*ik gharī*) patiently attending to whatever business [has kept you from sleep. If one does it this way] all will be well. If, however, it is not done this way, an attack of flatulence will be the speedy result. Why? Because he who exposes his body hair to the dampness of the open air throughout the night will be smitten with flatulence. This is merely one of the penalties [for sleeping thus]. There are many others. He who sleeps naked on his bed under a canopy [is exposed to] a kind of creature which fastens itself to the canopy. While the man sleeps this creature clings to the canopy, and as he breathes it drinks the moisture from his breath. This is its food. The poison from

this creature descends [and is absorbed] into the man's body, causing flatulence. Sometimes one is obliged to get up frequently. At other times one is affected by sluggishness. The reason is to be found in the dampness of the [night] air and the poison emitted by this creature. It is for this reason that one must sleep under the protective cover of clothing. 8.4

5

The place where a person is to live should be organized as follows. First he will require a building of either mud or brick, or a hut with a thatched roof. In it there should be two rooms. The dwelling should be kept spotlessly clean. 1.

In a location separated from the actual dwelling he should construct a place where food can be prepared. There too a room should be erected and kept thoroughly clean. 2.

Some distance from the house, in the direction of the fields, build a small shelter with a roof. This too should be kept clean. 3.

In the area where you sit and sleep lay out a garden and plant shrubs. Dig a small tank, install an irrigation system, and ensure that the area is kept clean. 4.

Lay an area of paving, as your means permit. 5.

[Section 6 is missing from Randhir Singh's version.]

In another place outside this area establish a bower (*dīvān-khānā*).

For this purpose a portico and one-roomed building are required. 7.

Some distance from it, further away from the house, build [another] small shelter. 8.

In front of the portico [of the bower], lay out a garden with shrubs, a small tank, and an irrigation system. 9.

Build a stable. 10.

If the Guru gives you strength, then by all means dig a well. 11.

Establish your dwelling and its environs as the Guru gives you strength. 12.[15]

6

How should one's daily work be performed? One's primary responsibility is to the requirements of one's dharam [and this must always determine the manner in which one's daily labour is performed. Remember also

that] the Guru Baba is the bestower of blessings [and will assist in this purpose]. 1.

A Sikh of Sri Guru Akal Purakh's Khalsa is forbidden to take employment in service (*chākārī*).⁴ 2.

He must not be an [itinerant] vendor of produce, nor should he sit in a shop. 3.

He should work at home, though he may legitimately take produce to a market and sell it there. He must not be slothful in his work. 4.

The best occupation is that of the merchant (*saudāgarī*). 5.

Next comes cultivation. This is the [kind of] work to do. 6.

Divide your earnings as follows: (1) First set aside the Guru's share. Let it be a fortieth part, a twentieth, or a tenth depending on the level of commitment which the Guru bestows on you. (2) Next allocate a portion to your parents, as indicated above. (3) Then put aside a portion for the Khalsa, to be used for [purchasing *kaṛāh*] *prasād*. (4) Then take what is required for your clothing, food, and personal toiletry. (5) Whatever remains should be put aside for some philanthropic purpose, or for a rainy day. 7.

He who enters service should do so as a soldier. How should he serve? He should do so fearlessly; and he should be content with his monthly wages [rather than seeking his rewards in looting]. 8.

If, while in service he is sent anywhere to fight he should understand what he is meant to do and should prove himself a hero. 9.

While engaged in warfare, he should never loot. He should never seek to possess another's property. 10.

He should do whatever his commander orders. 11.6

7

The relationship between a [married] man and his wife should be conducted as follows. First, the man should prepare for himself a good, clean place for sitting and sleeping. 1.

He should keep his body scrupulously clean, washing himself [regularly] and applying deodorants. His thoughts should be directed towards Sri Akal Purakh. 2.

⁴The meaning of this instruction is not clear. Does it forbid all government or local body employment? Does it prohibit all except employment by a Khalsa agency? Is it aimed at Muslim administrations? In 6:8 below, the Khalsa who wishes to enter *chākārī* is advised to treat soldiering as his first preference. The purpose is obscure.

The woman should likewise rub fragrant ointment into her skin once every eight days—or even every four days—and she should wash her hair after rubbing [perfumed] cosmetics into her scalp. Before tying it up, she should pour sweet-smelling oil onto it. She should wear clothes that have been given a pleasing aroma, together with a garland of flowers, and she should chew betel, wear ornaments, and adorn herself [attractively]. She [too] should direct her thoughts towards Sri Akal Purakh. If the Guru's generosity permits, she should bathe and anoint herself every day. She should never be negligent with regard to bathing. 3.

Sexual relations should be conducted as follows. Three days after menstruating, the woman should bathe and adorn herself. After a watch and a half of the night has passed,⁵ she and her husband should cohabit. Both should direct their thoughts towards the Creator. 4.

For fourteen days thereafter they may cohabit once every night, following which they must cease until the woman's period returns and the pattern is repeated. Between [the fourteenth day and the third day after menstruation] they must abstain [from sexual relations]. 5.

Sexual relations are prohibited when, by the will of the Guru, the woman becomes pregnant. 6.

If the man wishes to cohabit with his wife during the day he must wait until the afternoon. He may then cohabit with her, but he must not do so again that same night. 7.

Cohabiting at night must take place only after a watch and a half has elapsed and before the last watch has begun.⁶ Sexual relations between a man and a woman must not take place more than once within 24 hours. 8.

Keep out of breezes and draughts when cohabiting. An hour and a half later [the man] should wash his hands and feet, rinse his mouth, and gargle. He should then take one *chhaṭānk*⁷ of almond and pistachio, and two *sarasāhīs* of lump sugar (*misarī*). First he should put a convenient quantity of almond and pistachio in his mouth, together with [some] sugar. Then he should chew them. When they are well pulverized [but not yet swallowed], he should take a drink of milk. If a man drinks milk in this way, he will achieve impressive potency. His performance will bear testimony to it. 9.

Always bathe after intercourse. If, for any reason, it is not possible to

⁵After 10:30 p.m.

⁶3 a.m.

⁷The sixteenth part of a seer (1/16th of a kilogram)

bathe [the whole body], ensure that at least hands, feet, and the lower legs are washed, and that the mouth [is cleansed by] gargling. Take care to wash the private parts. This is essential. Wash every part of the body that needs it. 10.

During Satiyuga men and women had intercourse once [during each menstrual cycle and that] during the period of menstrual discharge. During the Tretayuga they cohabited for five days following the menstrual period, and during the Duaparyuga for nine days. Fourteen days after the menstrual period are permitted during the Kaliyuga. Those who have intercourse with women in excess of this limit are animals, not men, and they shall be condemned to suffer the [full] 80 [lakh] rebirths. He is [truly] a man who acts in accordance with the prescription (*rahit*) recorded here. 11.7

8

Eat at set hours only. It is not good to eat between meals. Control your hunger and then eat [at the regular time]. 1.

Fruit and vegetables should also be eaten at the regular times. 2.

Do not talk too much, except if it be to repeat the Creator's name. 3.

Do not laugh or smile frequently. Do not speak evil of another. Do not prattle incessantly. When you speak, do so with understanding. 4.

If anyone asks you a question, answer him, though not at excessive length. 5.

If anyone seeks clarification, [take the trouble to] give it, but do not talk unnecessarily. 6.

When you take your seat at any gathering (*majalas*) do so respectfully. Greet (*salām*) the person next to you without waiting for him to greet you. Do not say to yourself, 'I shall greet him when he greets me.' When you greet anyone do so with warmth and affection. 7.

Be strong in your commitment. Never act in a half-hearted way. 8.

Associate only with worthy people, not with all and sundry. 9.

Do not sit [and gossip idly] with large numbers of people. Sit [and talk] with them only if you have reason for doing so. 10.

Keep regular hours. Sleep for four and a half hours⁸ out of the 24. At night, go to sleep at 10.30 p.m. 11.

Any work that is your own responsibility should be completed within a three-hour period (*pahar*). Anything which you do on behalf of someone else can be done whenever you have time to spare. 12.

⁸*ḍeḥ pahar*: one and a half watches

Set aside time for sitting at home [with your family]. Spend two and a half hours (*chhia ghaṛiān*) with the women of your family during the late afternoon, and another watch and a half during the evening. Six hours out of the 24 should be spent in the women's quarters (*zanāne*). 13.

[Each day] an hour and a half (*chār ghaṛiān*) should be spent with a Khalsa congregation (*saṅgat*) or in discussing the scriptures within your own home. There is no objection to spending more than an hour and a half in this way. 14.

Any spare time which remains, during the day or during the night, should be spent sitting alone with one's mind detached [from worldly concerns], meditating on Sri Akal Purakh. 15.

Do not eat more than a kilogram (*ser*) of food [each day], whether grain, fruit, or vegetable. Likewise drink a seer of water every 24 hours. 16.

One's expenses should be less than one's income. He who spends more will eventually receive an unpleasant shock. 17.

Greet all people outwardly as custom dictates, but keep your inner understanding ever focused on the words of the Guru. Harm no one, for thus is suffering caused. 18.

He who lives according to these precepts shall dwell in bliss. 19.

Here ends the sixth chapter of *Srī Prem Sumārag*
[the chapter which details] the code of physical conduct. 6
May Sri Akalji be my Protector.

Chapter 7

Death and the conduct of funerals

[1]

For every person there comes the time to depart [from this world, the time] when, by reason of natural causes or some misfortune, [his spirit] must inevitably reunite [with the Supreme Spirit from which it first came]. When that time comes, let him free his spirit from all concern for his family. Let him break loose from the frenzied pursuit of worldly ambitions and, returning to the inner temple [of the spirit], let him there find peace at the feet of his divine Master. Detaching his spirit from all worldly affections, let him direct it to me, the Supreme Guru (*param gurū*) and Supreme Spirit (*param ātamā*). His thoughts should be permitted to turn to none save me. 1.

Even he who is [suddenly struck down and] destroyed by some misfortune can obtain this grace and indulgence. How can this be? It is like the cloud that spreads across the heavens and thus gives warning to all of the approach of rain. Because they know that the cloud is about to deposit its sustaining rain upon the earth, people make appropriate preparations. They know what is coming because of the advancing cloud and, thus warned in advance, they take steps to protect whatever should not get wet. In the same way, a prudent person [takes warning and] turns to God because he recognizes [the possibility of] sudden death. Putting aside all worldly affections and concerns, he cleaves in spirit to me, the

Supreme Spirit and Supreme Being. Thus he obtains liberation, freeing himself from [the cycle of] rebirth. 2.

It is, moreover, a fact that the state of a person's mind at the point of death determines the condition to which he accedes after dying. 3.

Each person should therefore appreciate that while he has life, he should not squander it. He can have no means of knowing which breath will be his last, nor what will eventually carry him off. In such circumstances, knowing that the hour of your departure will surely come, why waste the time that remains? Be sensible. Squandered opportunities can never be retrieved. Remember this! Do not forget it!

When the game [of life] is over, no chance for repentance remains. But [the faithful bride] shall enjoy her Beloved when her turn [for death] arrives.¹ 4[.1]

2

When a person dies the following ritual should be observed. First [the dying person] should be removed from his bed and placed on the ground. [Before doing so] prepare a square of plastered earth on the ground and over it spread a woollen blanket (*lauī akai kambal*) or a cotton cloth. Then place the [dying] person on it with the body fully extended. 1.

Members of the family—father, mother, wife, children, brothers, or anyone else—should not engage in lamentation when they arrive. They should recite or sing funeral songs of praise, together with other shabads that are traditionally sung at the time of death. The women should not beat their breasts. They should recite or sing passages from the sacred scripture (*bāṇī*). The men should do likewise, and they should not remove their turbans. 2.

When it is evident that life has finally departed, relatives and friends of the deceased who are present [should not lament]. They should rejoice and be blessed. 3.

When the deceased actually expires the following Ardas should be offered: 'By his presence [amongst us], we have been blessed. We trust that he found happiness in our company and that he may dwell [eternally] in the brotherhood of the Khalsa.' 4.

A brother or son should then put on [the deceased's head] a saffron-coloured turban. If he does not have a son, this should be done by his

¹*Tilāṅg mahalā 1, ghar 2, AG, p.725.*

parents, by a younger or older brother of his father, or by some other close relative. It is important that news of his death should be communicated to any [relatives] who may not know of it. 5.

His mother, wife, or some other close [female] relatives should then sew the corpse into the cotton cloth. 6.

Those who come to offer condolences should sit and talk together, as Sri Akal Purakh commands. 7.2.

3

The funeral rite (*gati*) should be conducted in the following manner. First [the corpse] should be washed with water equivalent in volume to the contents of a large earthenware jar (*gharā*). 1.

A new kachh should then be put on [the deceased]. 2.

Dry the kes with a cloth, perfume the hair with fragrant oil, and tie it in a knot. 3.

Put on a turban sprinkled with saffron. 4.

Then put on a clean shirt (*jāmā*) of the kind which opens at the front. 5.

Tie a sash around it. 6.

Fasten on a sword-belt of iron [chain]. 7.

Then sprinkle on saffron and encase [the corpse] in its shroud. 8.

Lay [the corpse] on its bier with the body fully extended. Neatly attach to the sides of the bier strips of wood of a height equivalent to the breadth of five fingers. These should form a frame which will prevent the corpse from slipping in any direction. 9.

Lay a sword on the bier at the right side of the deceased, tucked into his armpit. 10.

Add whatever perfume the Guru enables you to afford. Apply attar of roses. Burn wood of aloes in braziers on both sides of the bier so that [fragrant] smoke is wafted [over it]. 11.

Khalsa Sikhs should sing continual kirtan. 12.

The Sikhs who are appointed by the Guru to serve as pallbearers should intone the following mantra: 'Sri Vahiguru, keep him in your protection. Sri Akal Purakh, keep him in your protection.' 13.

When they are two-thirds of the way [to the place of cremation], they should pause and, lowering the bier to the ground, they should offer the following prayer: 'O Lord, may this soul find contentment in the hereafter and may he dwell in peace.' 14.

Before [this prayer is offered], all Sikhs and Sikhnis who are present

should be given [kaṛāh] prasād. A morsel should also be placed in the mouth of the deceased Sikh. 15.

[The pallbearers] should then pick up the bier again and continue on their way. When they reach their destination, they should build a pyre from 15 maunds² of wood. 15.³

On it they should lay the corpse, placing some of the wood on either side of it and on top of it. They should then offer the following prayer: 'Rejoice as this person's body is consigned to the fire.' And if the custom of smashing the skull to open the 'tenth door'⁴ is to be followed [they should say]: 'May the spirit of this person dwell where the congregation of the Khalsa is [eternally gathered].' [Then the pallbearers should say:] 'If it is your wish, let [the pyre] be lit.' And the Khalsa (saṅgat) should reply: 'Light it.' 16.

When the wood has burnt to ashes and the skull has burst the following prayer should be offered: 'May this Sikh, departing this mortal world, enter his [eternal] abode in the congregation of the Khalsa.' Having recited the *Kīrtan Sohilā* all should then return [to the place from which they set out]. When they arrive those Sikhs who are required to bathe should do so. Others should wash their hands and faces. Do whatever seems appropriate. There should be no disputes over the issue of washing. 17.

All members of the Khalsa should then gather beside a well, a tank, or a river. There they should sit and whatever food can, by the Guru's grace, be afforded should be distributed amongst them. 18.

All [members of] the Khalsa (saṅgat) should then return to the home of the deceased. 19.[3]

4

[What is to be done] if a young Sikh has died? Who can be regarded as young? Anyone aged 10 to 50 years [should be considered young]. If such a person has to be cremated, let someone from amongst the [local] Khalsa or a male relative [of the deceased]—someone who is himself a parent—[take responsibility for dispensing the traditional gifts]. At the time of the funeral he should donate a gold brocade turban, of whatever value can be afforded, to [the sepidars]—their Nai, their Bhatt, and their

²1 maund (*man*) equals approximately 40 kilograms.

³15 is recorded twice.

⁴The opening for the spirit which, according to hatha yoga, is situated at the fontanelle. GNSR, pp.191–92n.

Dum.⁵ [He should give a turban to each] together with a gift of whatever cash he can manage. Observe the custom of *sathar*.⁶ 1.

On the second day [after the death, *kaṛāh*] *prasād* should be distributed in accordance with [the family's] resources. The five stanzas of Anand should be recited and prayer offered as follows: 'This soul has left this mortal world for Sach Khand. Let us rejoice that he has made his abode in the [eternal] congregation of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa.' 2.

On the day that he dies [his relatives] should sleep on beds and eat good food. Do not enter mourning, do not raise lamentation, nor give expression to grief. Do not try to explain [what has happened]. Simply accept the divine command as right. 3.

Prepare as much food as you are able to afford. Use wheat or rice, and distribute the food to Sikh friends and relatives. 4.

The Sikh woman who has lost her husband or a son should eat little ghee and very little salt. Indeed, it is much better if she renounces salt altogether and avoids meat. What should she eat? She should add four seers of water to a quarter of a seer of rice (*khicharī*) and heat over a charcoal fire. If charcoal is not available she should use chopped wood. She should put the *khichari* on the fire in the early afternoon (*ḍeḍh pahar din rahande*) [and boil] until half past six in the evening (*gharī rāti gāi hai*), by which time the water which remains should be the same as the weight of the rice. She should add pepper [to this gruel] and drink it. This light meal will provide plenty of sustenance and offer no distraction to the mind. Prepare this food once daily (*aṭhān pahirān piche*). Indulging the appetite [at such a time] is prohibited. 5.

Let her bear the memory of her husband ever present in her mind. She should repeat the name of Sri Akal Purakh, read the sacred scriptures (*pothī shabad bāṇī*), and continue to discharge her normal responsibilities. She should remain in *purdah* and never speak to any strange man. Her clothing should be of coarse white cloth and should never be worn dirty. She should live a secluded life as befits one who has lost her husband and is left with nothing but a memory. Let her remember that as he was once with her as her God (*paramesur*) but has now departed, so too will she [one day] breathe her last and vanish as a

⁵*sepī* or *sepīdār*: one who renders service. Nai: barber. Bhatt: genealogist. Dum: bard.

⁶The word *sathar* meant 'pallet' and was a sheet spread on the ground during the period of mourning. When the period of mourning was over, *uṭhālā* was performed, which meant removal of the mourning pallet.

dream. Realizing this, she should live a life of renunciation. The widow who follows this precept will live a chaste life and thus will achieve ultimate fulfilment. 6.4

5

If a boy dies, the procedure is as follows. Up to the age of 10 years [a boy] should be regarded as a child. For him also a square of plastered earth should be prepared and on this he should be laid. If he is small enough to be conveniently taken in someone's arms, dress him in clothes sprinkled with saffron and carry him [to the place of cremation], accompanied by the singing of kirtan. Clothe him in the kind of garments he would have worn while alive. Conduct the [regular funeral] ceremony though he be but two days old. Offer the same prayers. 1.

After [the mourners have] returned [from the cremation], observe the custom of *uṭhālā*.⁷ 2.

If he is an older child and cannot conveniently be carried in the arms lay him on a bier. Attach the frame underneath the bier. In other respects follow the order set out above, but do not give turbans or cash [to the *sepidars*]. 3.

The following procedure should apply in the case of those who die at ages between 60 and 100, or over. When it is clear that life has departed proceed in exactly the same way as indicated above for a young person. Construct a bier with surrounding frame and deck it with bunting. Gild the bier as the Guru's generosity to you permits, decorating it with gold and silver. Let it be preceded by [musicians with] instruments and drums, and sing kirtan [as it is carried to its destination]. Give the musicians brocade turbans to wear, the best that you can afford. Likewise, provide the family's Nai, Dum and Bhatt with garments, as you are able to afford. Thereafter follow the order specified for the funeral of a young person. 1.⁸

After the [cremation] ceremony offer Ardas, and after distributing nine pence (*paise*) [to each], let all disperse. 2.

On the third day, conclude the period of *sathar*. Give cash and clothes to your Nai, Bhatt and Dum as you can afford. As means permit provide a meal for the members of your *biradari* and of the [local] Khalsa *saṅgat*. 3.

⁷See above fn. 6.

⁸It is not clear why the text reverts to 1 at this point.

Burn a lamp in ghee for 11 days at the place where the deceased died. 4.

On the following day, serve a meal to five Khalsa Sikhs. 5.

On the anniversary of the death, serve a meal in memory of the deceased. Provide all manner of produce—vegetables, fresh and dried fruit, confectionery, sweet rice (*khīr*), curd, meat, and all possible delicacies (*sabharas chhatih prakār*). Serve the meal to needy Khalsa Sikhs. 6.

When the fresh fruit and vegetables have been consumed bring more. [First] feed your Sikh guests; then take your own meal. 7.5

6

The procedure in the case of a woman is as follows. If a girl dies observe the order specified above for a male child, except that red cloth (*sālū*) should be used for her garments and a head-dress (*maulī*) should be placed on her hair. In all other respects follow the order set down for a boy. 1.

If the woman has been married but has no children, either surviving or deceased, the procedure is as follows. As soon as it is evident that she is dying, her husband should stand before her, asking forgiveness [for any failings which he may have committed] and rejoicing [for her goodness to him]. The husband should also rejoice for her [entry into peace]. A square of plastered earth should then be prepared on the ground and the [deceased] woman laid on it. Do not weep and wail. Offer this prayer: 'By her presence [amongst us], we have been blessed. Grant that she may dwell [eternally] with the Khalsa in Sach Khand.' Then wash her, pour fragrant oil on her hair, and plait it, and clothe her in the garments that she ordinarily wore. Over these, put a saffron-coloured *asāvarī* shawl.⁹ If that cannot be afforded, substitute for the *asāvarī* shawl a saffron-coloured *masrū*¹⁰ or *dariā*¹¹; and if even that is too expensive, use ordinary white [cotton] cloth dyed saffron. Prepare a bier with the [usual] frame around it. If you cannot afford [proper wood], construct a litter with bamboo and use strips of bamboo to build a frame six *giraḥs*¹² in height. Then sing kirtan, and in other respects, follow the order set out above. 2.

After returning from the [cremation] ceremony, call [on everyone

⁹A shawl of the finest wool.

¹⁰A striped silken cloth.

¹¹A kind of silken cloth.

¹²1 *giraḥ* equals approximately 1/16th of a metre.

present] and donate the [traditional] nine pence (*paisā*). Let all Sikhs and members of the biradari [who are present] participate in the uṭhālā ceremony. Provide a meal and invite everyone [to eat]. Follow the procedure described above in serving the food. On the following day, give nine paise to the [family] Bhatt and conclude the uṭhālā ceremony. Then resume your [normal] work. 3.

If the [deceased] woman has had children and is advanced in years the procedure is as follows: Observe the order prescribed above for a woman [without children], but decorate the bier with red bunting. In accordance with your family tradition, give your Nai, Bhatt, and Dum whatever can be afforded. 4.

If the deceased was a widow, proceed as follows: In the case of a child, do not insert a nose-ring, but otherwise follow the [usual] order. Do not clothe her. Merely wrap her in a white shroud and do not sprinkle saffron [on it]. In all other respects observe the [regular] order. 5.

If the [deceased] woman was an adult and mother as well as a widow, clothe her when she dies in a long skirt (*lahiṅgā*) and a white mantle (*chādar*). Then wrap her in a shroud and sprinkle saffron over it. On the occasion [of such a funeral], clothes and cash should be given to the family sepidars as resources permit. In all other respects the funeral of an adult woman should follow the order given above. 6.6

7

When a man experiences [the kind of] suffering [which foreshadows imminent death], he should have food prepared—sweets, delicacies cooked in ghee, or uncooked food which is served with ghee. This should be done to the extent that resources permit. The food should be served to Sikhs of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa. 1.

He to whom the Guru gives boundless resources should feed others when [the time of final] suffering comes. This, truly, is an excellent custom to observe. 2.

Take note of the day and month of the death when a person dies. When that day comes round a year later observe the following procedure.¹³ On that anniversary [a close relative] should serve Sikhs with whatever food the Guru's generosity enables him to offer. After bathing, he should apply fragrant perfumes, and other Sikhs should likewise apply them to

¹³This will of course be reckoned according to the Bikrami calendar, not according to the western calendar introduced by the British.

themselves. He should arrange for kirtan to be sung continuously throughout the 24 hours, and the following prayer should be offered when it is evident that the [assembled] Khalsa are satisfied and relaxed. 'Gracious [Lord], may Brother ... or Sister ... or whatever the appropriate title and name may be, dwell in peace with the [eternal] congregation of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa in Sach Khand.' 3.

Follow this procedure [when marking the death anniversary of] a son, a grandson, a husband, a brother, a son-in-law, a wife, or a daughter. Whoever does so will himself find happiness. The [departed] spirit on whose behalf [the ceremony is conducted] will also be granted happiness. 4.

It is, however, vain and false to claim that this food, water, and fragrance actually reaches the [deceased] person [whose death anniversary is thus observed]. What is true is that if one annually marks a death anniversary by providing good food for hungry [members of the Khalsa] on behalf of a departed soul, and if one endeavours to explain [the purpose of the ceremony], and if one has kirtan sung [for the occasion], the deceased will dwell in peace with the [eternal] congregation of the Khalsa. [Apart from this] all other claims are false. 5.

Will what is eaten here reach one who has departed this life? What can be affirmed is that food or clothing given to a needy person in God's name (*parimaṣur*) and in a spirit of love will bring its reward at the final judgement. All else is false. 6.

If someone dies proceed as follows for seven days from the day of death. In the case of a boy or a girl who was still unmarried and still a child, arise before dawn and perform kirtan for four and a half hours (*ḍeḍh pahar*). At midday prepare food and serve it to two, four, or five Sikhs depending on your means. Offer this prayer: 'May the departed dwell with the [eternal] Khalsa.' 7.

In the case of an adult woman, sing kirtan from dawn. [Late in the afternoon], when an hour and a half (*chār ghaṛiān*) of the day remains, recite Sodar and offer prayer on behalf of the departed. 8.

For a young person, the procedure is as follows. Arise an hour (*ḍui ghaṛiān*) before the last watch of the night and sing *Vaḍaḥaṛis kī Vār* until 10.30 a.m. (*ḍeḍh pahar din*). At midday prepare and dispense food as indicated above. Offer prayer. 9.

When only two hours (*chār ghaṛiān*) of the day remain read *Vaḍaḥaṛis* rag from the Granth, or some other portion of the scripture which is traditionally read on the occasion of a death. Distribute such food as you can afford, and offer prayer. 10.

If the deceased was an old man the procedure is as follows. Arise two hours (chār ghaṛiān) before the last watch of the night and sing kirtan for two watches. Greet those [who come to mourn]. At midday, serve food and offer prayer. When two hours (chār ghaṛiān) of the day remain read one of the following: *Sukhamanī*, *Bāvan Akharī*, *Sirī Rāg kī Vār*, *Vaḍahaṇis kī Vār*, or *Mājh kī Vār*. Offer prayer. Also read from the scriptures or from the [*Janam-sakhi*], while continuing to welcome [those who come to offer condolences]. At night, sing kirtan again, offer prayer, and dispense food. 11.

In the manner indicated [above], sing kirtan, prepare *kaṛāh* [prasād], and serve food during the next seven days. Invite Khalsa Sikhs, let kirtan be sung, and distribute amongst them the food that has been prepared. Then [at the conclusion of the seven-day period] read the five stanzas of the Anand and conclude the uṭhālā ceremony. This is the procedure for an elderly person. The five Anand stanzas should also be read in the case of a young person, prior to concluding the ceremony. 12.

Do not weep [at funerals]. Lay [the deceased] on a bed and refrain from mourning. Accept the divine will as just and be content. Do not attend the funeral of a *masand*¹⁴ or a *masandia*, for one should never associate [with such people]. Who is a *masandia*? He is one who acknowledges the authority of a *masand*. Nor should one attend the funeral of any Sikh of the Guru who has shaved his head following the death of his parents, even though he may [be one who devoutly] repeats ‘Vahiguru’. Do not stay away in any other instance, regardless of who the deceased may have been—whether Hindu, Muslim, or anybody else. Apart from the three exceptions [mentioned above] attend all without question. Why? Because [one should respect anyone] who is loyal to his master (*gurū*). The point is that one must avoid the company of anyone [such as the *masands*] who ignores his master and neglects his commands. The Vedas and the Shastras bear witness to the obligation of obeying one’s master. How then can we have dealings with those who have been banished from their master’s sight? How can we be present at their funerals? Have nothing to do with these misguided people. 13.

Prepare and serve food of good quality. Do not lament for anything. The woman who is left a widow must not wear a nose-ring. She should eat unsalted food, and only once [every 24 hours. This meal she should take] half an hour after the close of day (*ghaṛī rāti gudaṛī*). [A widow]

¹⁴The surrogates appointed by Guru Ram Das who had become corrupt by the time of Guru Gobind Singh and were disowned by him at the founding of the Khalsa.

who is unable to eat without salt should take a little. She should prepare and drink rice-water gruel; and she should repeat 'Vāhiguru', the name of Guru Sri Akal Purakh. She should focus her thoughts on her [departed] husband and should not grieve. 14.7

8

When a member of the Khalsa of Sri Akal Purakh dies, the procedure is to burn him in all his clothes, together with his bier. 1.

Conduct the funeral as soon as she expires, whether day or night. Do not superstitiously discriminate between day and night. Conduct the funeral ceremony immediately. 2.

On the day after the funeral, after 33 hours (*giārā paharān te uprānt*), go to the place where the cremation took place and collect the ashes. Sprinkle the sweetened water of initiation on the ground (*pāhul mittīhī khaṇḍe kī*) and on the [unburnt] bones [if any]. 3.

The ashes of the deceased should then be taken to a river, whether it be close to [his] town, two or three *kos* away, or far distant. They should be stowed in a large earthenware pot (*matī*), carried on some man's head, and deposited in the river. 4.

After returning to the river bank, [he should] bathe, read the five Anand stanzas, return home, and distribute food. 5.

If for any reason it is not possible to immerse the ashes in a river, dig a hole at the spot where the cremation took place. It should be two gaz in depth and three-quarters of a gaz along each side.¹⁵ Place the ashes of the deceased in this hole and cover them with other ashes [from the fire], mixed with an equal amount of soil. If you are not permitted to dig a hole at that particular spot do so elsewhere. If it is possible to go to a river the hole should not be dug. 6.8

Here ends the seventh chapter of *Srī Prem Sumārag*,
[the chapter concerning] death and funeral rites. 7

May Sri Akalji be [my] Protector.

May Sarab Loh protect me.

¹⁵1 gaz equals approximately 1 metre.

By the grace of the Guru, the Eternal One.
By the aid of Sri Akal Purakh

Chapter 8

The pattern of political conduct¹

1

Whoever secures political authority over any territory should observe the following rules of justice and conduct. What are his principal obligations? The first [and foremost] is to exercise his authority [with firmness]. Anyone who resists should be hung and his property confiscated, thereby ensuring an end to disobedience. Execute all offenders, no matter whose son, father, wife, or mother [the culprit] may be and regardless of the fact that he may be the chief minister (*vazir*) or anybody else. Let there be no indulgence. Thus shall his authority stand firm. 1.[1]

2

A Raja should ensure that each of his servants, whether a person of high rank (*umarão*) or anyone else, should know his place and show due respect [to him]. If [the Raja] summons [anyone] that person should respond,

¹Parts of this chapter are very difficult to construe. This applies particularly to the various officers of state and to the descriptions of their symbols of authority. In my attempts to translate them I am particularly grateful to Mr J.S. Anand and Dr Avtar Singh. I must, however, acknowledge that certain portions are virtually untranslatable.

regardless of where he may be. Though he may be seven kos away, he should come [at once] and humbly pay his respects. 1.

How should a chief minister (vazir) be chosen? He should be a 'boat of wisdom', one who will ensure that the Raja is not overburdened with responsibilities. The vazir should administer the kingdom as if it were his own, and the Raja should be able to trust the vazir to act in his place. No relative [of the Raja] should be regarded as the equal of the vazir, nor should any other state servant. No one else should be permitted to interfere in his responsibilities. The Raja should always seek his advice before determining a course of action. 2.

There is one other important feature of [effective] statecraft. [The Raja] should look with favour and satisfaction on any of his officials who lives honourably, dresses well, and administers justly. 3.

Any official who behaves disreputably should be cautioned. Observe how he responds. If it is evident that he has reformed be gracious and forgive him. If, however, he continues in his corrupt ways dismiss him. Why [should he do this]? Because [if the Raja does not act firmly, his state will] decay. 4.2

3

A Raja should regard justice as his sacred duty. He should appreciate that authority has been conferred on him so that he may promote justice. 1.

In the court of the True One a Raja will be asked only about his administration of justice. A Raja—whom the foreigners call a *pātishāh*—will be asked about no aspect of his stewardship save only this: Who has found contentment in your kingdom and who has found misery? 2.

A Raja should administer what he understands to be justice with fear [in his heart for his own ultimate fate]. No one in his kingdom should suffer oppression. If some powerful person oppresses another who is poor the strong man should be bound and delivered into the custody of his victim. He should then be made to suffer whatever misery he may have inflicted on the other. 3.

[A Raja] should never spare [such people], even though they be [his own] close relative, his vazir, or some other state official. Retribution should match the offence, and none should be set above the law. Why [is this so]? Because at the final judgement, that Raja will be asked about his administration of justice and nothing else. 4.

The Raja who practises service, piety (simaran), and justice [bestows

on his people] a rich fragrance. If [to these qualities he adds those of] the strict ascetic he will be reborn a Raja in his next incarnation. 5.

But he who is unable to impart justice, who [in its place] practises violence, shall descend from kingship into hell. 6.

A Raja should in all respects impose upon himself the same justice [that he requires of his subjects]. 7.

Others who possess power should likewise impose the demands of justice upon themselves. 8.

Even service is less important than justice. How is justice to be defined? It is a refusal to trample on the rights of others, or to let others do so. It is refraining from injuring someone who is in your power, and preventing others from doing so. This is justice. 9.3

4

Now concerning taxation, and first the procedure to be followed in the case of the tax on agricultural produce: For land which produces seven maunds of grain per bigha² set aside one maund. From this [maund], 20 seers³ should go to the landlord as rent. 1.

[But not all of it actually goes to the landlord.] How much should be given to sepīdars,⁴ how much to the government accountant (*navīsindā*) for his services as *qānūngo*, how much to the *patavari*?⁵ The landlord's [actual] share is 15 seers. The remaining five seers should go to the *patavari*. 2.

Others [such as the family sepīdars] who come with [legitimate] demands should be given a portion of the [maund's] remaining 20 seers. 3.

The other six maunds should be allocated as follows. Half should be taken as tax and half left with the cultivator for his own support. Chaff and straw should also be retained by the cultivator. None of this should be taken as tax. Taxes should not be collected in an oppressive manner. Vegetables should be treated in the same proportions [as grain]. 4.[4]

²A bigha varied according to locality. Under the British administration, it was fixed as 120 square feet. 1 maund (*man*) equals approximately 40 kilograms.

³A seer (*ser*) is approximately equivalent to 1 kilogram.

⁴sepīdār: one who renders service; a traditional family servant.

⁵*qānūngo*: superintendent of village *paṭavārīs* (village surveyors and accountants); official who keeps an account of the tenures under which land is held.

5

What sort of person should be appointed governor of a sub-district (*pargana*)? A *pargana* requires a military commander (*faujadār*) and a law officer (*amīn*), a revenue collector (*siqadār*)—who is called a *tahsildār*⁶—and a treasurer (*potadār*). All these responsibilities should be entrusted to one man [within the *pargana*]. What kind of man? Somebody who is wise and understands [the meaning of] justice, one who ensures that each cultivator [in his *pargana*] is housed and who does not act tyrannically. He should covet nothing save [legitimate] taxes. He should ensure that his people are content, though he should not forgo the taxes due to the government. 1.

In order that he may have a complete record of the finances of his *pargana* he should appoint someone to prepare a comprehensive document covering the entire area. Such a person is called a *dīvān*. 2.

For his *pargana* town (*shahir paragane kā*), he should appoint an intelligence officer (*khabar navīs*), who will report in writing all information regarding both good behaviour and bad. 3.

He should make it absolutely clear that if any of these officials defames or discriminates his hands will be cut off. 4.

A judge (*niāwīkār*) should be appointed in every *pargana* town to adjudicate, in accordance with the principals of justice, whatever [legal] issues may be referred to him. This he should do after consulting the *faujadar*. If any person violates the right of another and commits thereby a [serious] injustice the judge [should request] the *faujadar* to have him beheaded. This will deter others from indulging their greed and committing crimes [to satisfy it]. 5.5

6

How should a *pargana* be [administratively] sub-divided? The villages situated within [designated] areas, each with a perimeter of 25 kos, should be associated for revenue purposes with whatever city or town (*shahar qasabā*) may be located within the area. 1.

⁶It was this reference to *tahsildār* which persuaded S.S. Hans that the *Prem Sumārag* dated from the British period. *PrS* was, however, in existence at an earlier date, as testified by a lengthy quotation in R. Leech, 'The Rites and Ceremonies of the Sikhs and the Sikh Sects', edited by Bhai Nahar Singh. *Guradūārā Gazar* 40.8 (August 1969). Original (dated 23 Oct. 1844) in *For. Secret*, Dec. 20, 1845, 144 (NAI). Ed. Nahar Singh. Comprises: Parts I and II: a selection from *PrS*.

This should not be done, however, in the case of a town which is separated from a particular pargana by a river. A pargana should not take into its bounds a town which is situated across a [contiguous] river. 2.

Whatever settlement is determined for revenue purposes should be expressed in terms of rupees, [not in kind]. How should this be done? As indicated above, [within each pargana] a comprehensive and well-planned survey should be made of its fields, trees, and produce. When this has been done, a demand should be determined and specified in rupees. Collect the designated amount from the villages [of each sub-division]. The same procedure should be applied within the *jagirs* which are to make payments.⁷ 3.

The revenue settlement determined for a pargana should be carefully reviewed after 10 years. Strike a fresh assessment in accordance with its results, whether more or less [than the previous figure]. Why? So that the cultivator is not forced into want and so that the state continues to receive only its due share. Let there be no injustice. In the same manner he who receives a jagir should [periodically] determine the true state of shortage or plenty [within his domain]. 4.6

7

Provincial organization should be as follows: 21 parganas should be grouped to form a district (*taraf*); and the assessments which are determined for the [individual] parganas should be consolidated, with due adjustments, to provide the [district] assessment. 1.

Each district should be named after a city [within its bounds]. 2.

Eleven districts should be grouped to form a province (*disā*). 3.

A person of eminence should be appointed as faujadar for each district. 4.

A judge (*niāun-kār*) should be appointed [for each district]. 5.

An intelligence officer (*khabar navīsindā*) should be appointed [for each district]. 6.

An accountant (*hisāb-kār*) should be appointed [for each district]. 7.

A worthy person of aristocratic rank (*umarāo*) should be appointed governor (*disāvant*) of each province (*disā*), to act on behalf of [the Raja] himself. 8.

A divan should [also] be appointed. The [district] accountant should

⁷A jagir was normally a rent-free grant of land given by the government to some individual. It is not clear what kind of jagir is indicated.

ensure that he scrutinizes all [financial] documents relating to the parganas and the district. He should watch for insufficient or excessive collecting of revenues. Acting on instructions from the provincial governor he should sanction expenditure and issue receipts with his official seal. 9.

[Randhir Singh's text omits section 10. It may have been conflated with section 11.]

An intelligence secretary (*khabar likhatā*) should be appointed to record information concerning the province, both favourable and unfavourable. The provincial governor should enlist such troops as he may require, and likewise other state officials. The appointment of soldiers should be approved with his own seal. Why? Because the intelligence secretary will be under [the control of] the faujadar. 11.

A judge should be appointed for each province. The [actual principles of] justice should be determined by the provincial governor, in consultation with his intelligence secretary. It may so happen that a petition is sent to the Maharaja⁸ couched in such terms as:

I have not received justice from [the authorities in] ... pargana of ... district in ... province. My rights have been violated.

The ruler (*mahārāj pātishāh*) should initiate an enquiry to determine who is in the right and what is the truth of the matter. The issue should first be put to the faujadar and judge [of the pargana named in the petition], and if they are unable to render satisfactory answers, they should be dismissed. The enquiry should then be extended to the faujadar and judge of the [specified] district, and if they cannot offer acceptable explanations, they too should be dismissed and punished. Let there be no clemency [for the injustice] inflicted on another. [The ruler] should keep in mind the account that he must render at the final judgement and the answers which he must give to Sri Guru Akal Purakh. 12.

A security officer called a *kotwal* should be appointed for [each] city. His duty is to maintain order in the city, day and night. 13.7

8

The procedure whereby the Maharaja enlists troops and appoints personal servants (*samīpavant*) and secretaries (*musaddī*) to state positions should

⁸There is no evident reason why the title of the ruler has been changed from Raja to Maharaja.

be as follows: First he requires a household, divan whose function will be the supervision of all palace equipment. He must be a particularly alert person. All household goods and chattels, whether for service or production services, should be under his control. 1.

Next [the ruler] should appoint an army commander with the title of general (*bakhashī*). He will command the army, including the infantry, artillery, foundries, and infantry supplies. 2.

The third appointment should be a works director (*bisakaramavantā*). His responsibilities should include palace and garden furniture, together with all other domestic fittings. 3.

Fourth comes the [ruler's] personal vazir. How is he to be chosen and what authority should be delegated to him? [He should possess the capacity to ensure that] if the ruler (*rājā mahārājā*) is incapacitated the administration of the state will continue to run smoothly. 4.

[There is no 5, although it may be included as part of 6.]

His personal attendant (*samīpī*) should be the kind of person who will provide constant reminders of the need to remember Sri Akal Purakh and repeat his name. He should also admonish [the ruler] with regard to his duties as upholder of justice. 'Maharaj ji,' he should say, 'opportunities slip by, and opportunities gone can never be regained. Do what must be done [while there is time], whether deeds of piety, charity, the maintenance of personal purity, or justice (*nām, dān, isanān, niāun*). When you depart this life, the final judgement must be faced.' This personal attendant should be the wisest and most pious of the state officials, and his manner should be grave. 6.

The rank and status (*manasab*) of state officials should be determined in the following manner. He who is to be a manasab of 50 shall have 50 horsemen placed under his command. For each horseman he shall receive 30 rupees per month, payable as an annual consolidated sum. In addition, he shall receive 50 rupees per month for [the actual status accorded] a manasab of 50. The annual income for the cavalry and for the [manasab] status should be calculated as a single annual sum and [the mansabdar] should then receive [as a jagir] a pargana with an annual yield equal to that of the total due to him. 7.

The mansabdar should then be warned not to take more than the sanctioned income [from his jagir]. His cultivators should be kept housed and contented. If ever there should be a shortage in food production, he should not enforce payment of his full entitlement, regardless of the

shortage. How should he deal with such a situation? He should save his cultivators from ruin by [withholding his demand during the year of shortage and then] recoup the deficiency in the following year. Let him [temporarily] cover the deficiency by an advance from his own resources, thus ensuring that [his territory] remains occupied. Then, if the Guru so wills, the deficiency will be recovered. And let him take steps to ensure that not a *bisavā*⁹ of land remains unsown. In accordance with established practice, have the land so cultivated that all shortages are covered. Honour all contracts and agreements. Keep the requirements of justice ever in view. 8.

For manasabs of 50 and 80, upto those of 1000, the income should be determined in accordance with cavalry numbers. If it is to be a manasab of 1000, a cavalry force of 1000 should be provided. The legal requirement is that the income due for a mansab should be one rupee per month for every horseman. 9.

In accordance with this tradition [authority should be conferred on] strong men—those whom the foreigners call umarāo or nobles. [This authority descends] to their sons and grandsons. Some receive it in limited measure, others abundantly. [In addition to these hereditary lines, the ruler may] by his grace make new appointments to positions of authority, some to large manasabs and others to small ones. 10.

He should not reduce the status of useful servants and attendants. They should be paid their monthly dues from the treasury, receiving an amount which reflects the duties performed. Only those who discharge their responsibilities as mansabdars should receive [payment]. 11.

Who are the useful servants (*kāmavant*) and attendants (*muharakhe*)? These are those servants (*ahadīyās*) who bear maces. These are the people who serve others and are called state servants. Let others have the pleasure of receiving mansabs. 12.8.

9

Let all records be kept in the Gurmukhi script. Use it also as the basis for coded messages expressed with numbers. 1.

Log-books of daily transactions (*roz-nāmā*), daily accounts, and all other documents should be recorded in Gurmukhi, whether at the pargana level or in the royal court. 2.

Anything that is written should be in Gurmukhi. 3.

⁹A twentieth part of anything, normally of a bigah of land. $1/20^{\text{th}} = 6$ square feet.

Emphasize this style of learning. Ensure that the children of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa Sikhs are able to read [Gurmukhi]. 4.

[The ruler should] emphasize one thing. He should ensure that the principles of conduct recorded above in the [various] chapters of *Srī Param Mārg Granth* should be practised by all his subjects. The penalty for any failure to do so will fall upon the ruler. Whenever any individual commits either an evil deed or a virtuous one, causing thereby either grief or joy, the responsibility is shared equally by the ruler and his subject. Whenever anyone living under his authority causes happiness, the ruler receives a share of the merit earned thereby; and likewise a share of the demerit whenever any subject causes suffering. He partakes of both the vice and the virtue of his subjects. In the court of Sri Guru Nirankar Akal Purakh a ruler will be interrogated on issues of justice. He will be asked about these and nothing else. 5.

The Raja should appoint as chief justice (*niāuvant*) one who is a gurmukh and a [God-]fearing man. He should be unconcerned for his own gain, grasping neither another's wealth nor another's wife, altogether upright and trustworthy. 6.

He should apply the law intelligently, dispensing justice as stipulated in the chapters of *Srī Param Mārg*. 7.

The Raja should instal [such a person] in the seat of justice and deliver into his custody a seal of justice [inscribed] with the name of Sri Guru Akal Purakh. On the signet should be inscribed: 'The seal of justice, by authority of Sri Guru Akal Purakh.' 8.

If any plaintiff or litigant has to be called, [the chief justice] should issue a summons as quickly as possible—certainly in less than half an hour (*ik ghāṛī*). To it, he should affix his seal. What is a summons? It is what foreigners call an *ilām* [or 'notification']. 9.

Whoever is thus summoned must present himself, though he be the Maharaja, any member of his family, a powerful subject, the vazir, or a commander. If anyone, trusting in his capacity to resist, fails to respond, the ruler should have him bound and delivered to the chief justice. He should then receive punishment in accordance with the verdict of the chief justice, and he should not be spared. 10.

If any complaint should be brought against the judge it should be heard by the Maharaja himself, by the vazir, or by a provincial governor. 11.

The *niāuvant* [or chief justice] is the judge who serves the country as a whole [in the court of] the Maharaja. The judge who serves in a pargana or a city jurisdiction is called a *niāuñkar*. 12.9.

10

Educated and intelligent men from all the language-speaking groups in the country (*mulak*) should, if worthy to serve in the presence of the Maharaja, be retained by him at court. 1.

He should also employ men who are learned in the contents of the Shastras and Vedas, and in astrology. 2.

Artists should also be patronized. They should possess the skill to represent the exact likeness of whatever forms they copy. 3.

Kirtan singers should also be employed, men from whom music flows as a stream, taming [even] wild animals as they flee [from the sight of men]. 4.

[The ruler] should also keep [a troupe of] dancing girls (*pātrā*) [as attractive as] Indra's beauties (*mohanī*). 5.

The kirtan singers and dancing girls should sing the praises of Sri Akal Purakh for him. 6.

Why should a Raja be instructed to retain dancing girls? [One of their functions should be] to expose to temptation any who come wearing the garb of ascetic renunciation—any yogi, digambar or sanyasi, any bairagi, pir, or udasi. This they should do by proffering wealth, tasty food, perfume, and fine clothing. He who succumbs should be told: 'Bogus ascetic! Why did you ever leave your home? You are still in bondage to your base instincts. Your appetite for food shows how threadbare your renunciation is. Resume the life of a householder and find yourself a job.' He who does not succumb should be treated with [respect and] affection, and allowed to go wherever he pleases. But be careful. Do not permit all and sundry to adopt the lifestyle of a renunciant. The gurmukh who continues to earn his living can become an ascetic [but restrict the number of those who abandon all worldly activity]. Those who assume the title of ascetic should also be prevented from associating together in large numbers. 7.

Brave men should be warmly welcomed. They too should be treated with affection. 8.

Do not let too many people gather in a single place (*basāfi*). Where should they be permitted to congregate? [They should be permitted to do so only] at funerals, festivals, and kirtan. 9.

The Raja should employ plenty of informers and keep them constantly active to ensure receipt of full information from every town and village in the country. Secret agents in the same locality should not

know each other. A Raja is the protector of his people and should share the burden of whatever problems they may have—problems of finance, family (*aulād*), food, and clothing, or anything else. The Raja who alleviates suffering shall inherit Indra's kingdom. He shall inherit liberation and obtain great blessing. 10.10

11

A Raja should determine fixed allocations of time [for his various responsibilities. There should be set times] for meals, for hearing the account of the previous day's business, for the [daily] exposition of the Vedas, for recreation, for confidential consultations with his advisors, and for visiting his zenana. Each of these activities should be allocated a specific amount of time. 1.

Another injunction which should be promulgated and which the ruler should encourage by his own example concerns the lighting of lamps on the night of the new moon (*amāvasiā*). Lamps should be placed both indoors and outdoors on the new moon night of every month. 2.

The people should also be commanded to observe the Hola festival until the first day of Baisakh. The festival should begin on the fifth day [of the light half] of Basant¹⁰ and end on the first of Baisakh. 3.

The people should worship only Sri Akal Purakh. No idol nor image should be worshipped, no shrine (*maṛī*), tomb, mosque, dharamsala, temple (*deharā*), place of pilgrimage (*īraṭh*), nor any other place associated with religious observance. There is only one dharam, only one obligation—the three-fold *nām dān isanān*. Let this be the object of worship and let [the ruler] inculcate devotion to Sri Akal Purakh, to the one true Lord alone. 4.

[There is no section 5.]

The people should also be expected to observe the full-moon night (*pūran-māsī*) as a special occasion. On every full-moon night men, women, and children should all bathe in their own homes and put on good clothes. Women should apply perfume and adorn themselves. Special food should be prepared with ghee and sugar—various salty, sweet, and seasoned dishes. This feast they should share with others, and all should make merry. [Everyone] should sing kirtan [in praise] of Sri Akal Purakh, both men and women; and they should invoke blessings on the Raja,

¹⁰The month of Chet.

praying that his rule may continue firm and that he may continue to exercise justice. 6.

The Maharaja's duty is to bestow an abundant happiness on his people. He should be as a shining light [to his people], never as one who inflicts evil on them. Thus shall his rule bring [for him] its due reward. 7.11

12

It is the duty of the Maharaja to keep his people thoroughly contented. Apart from prostitutes no woman should appear in public unveiled. If [a respectable woman] ventures out of her home, she should go veiled. 1.

If a man commits adultery he and the woman should both be [publicly] seated on a donkey with their faces blackened so that all may know of their despicable behaviour. Their relationship should be formalized by having them married, thus entering a second marriage in each case. This will be a severe punishment. 2.

The Raja should not permit any of his subjects, men or women, to remain unmarried. Lay great stress on this requirement. None should remain unmarried; all should marry or remarry. 3.

A brothel should be established so that those who must fornicate can avoid doing so with another man's wife. To commit adultery with another's wife is a particularly grievous act. There is a difference between a prostitute and another man's wife. A prostitute offers her body for sale and accepts whom she pleases as her partner. To consort with a prostitute amounts to a semi-marriage and this too is very bad. Those who cannot resist had better succumb, but those who are able to maintain their purity should not let themselves be swayed. 4.12

13

[Sections 1 and 2 are missing.]

Income should be derived from trade in the following way. Where goods are purchased let the rate be 12 annas for every 20 rupees worth of merchandise, entered in a daily register. And from sales, take two annas out of 12.¹¹ He who does not pay should be punished. 3.

Do not levy any tolls along the way, [and] where [the merchandise] is sold, take neither a cowrie nor a rupee. This is firmly prescribed. 4.

¹¹*duiānī*: a coin worth two annas.

For information concerning the city night and day appoint a city superintendent called a kotwal. He will enable the people to be free from fear of thieves and other rascals. 5.

What kind of man should he be? In the first place he should fear the Creator, and he should not accept goods taken from another. By night and day he should think about the needs of the city dwellers, so that they may remain contented. 6.

Except for their appearance before the court of Sri Akal Purakh, the Creator, the people should be content with [the administration of] justice and not question it. Service should not be questioned. 7.

This city superintendent should regularly report good and bad news to the controller of the city¹² or to the person responsible for maintaining the proper order, and he should also make sure that it reaches the faujadar. In this way, the Maharaja can care for the people. 8.

Thus should the city superintendent attend to the maintenance of justice within the city. Thus should order be maintained in the city. 9.13

14

[The first section is missing.]

The Maharaja, having received information concerning his subjects, should let none of them sleep at night either naked or hungry. From within the city or from the villages round about, appoint as his chief servant a generous person. 2.

He who is in any need—whether naked, hungry, without a means of livelihood, without the means of marrying his daughter, or whatever kind of need it may be—let his wishes be fulfilled. 3.

Take particular care with news about householders. Why is this? It is because if a householder is afflicted with shyness, he cannot [freely] express his feelings. This the Maharaja should recognize, and personally take care of it. 4.

The Maharaja should make his intentions known to his people, and they should be happy and comfortable. If anyone should be carrying his wealth with him—whether in rupees or *mohurs*—and if the load should split asunder, on the road or on a plain, or in a jungle, let no one cast covetous eyes upon that wealth, even if it should happen to him 10 times. 5.

¹²*mahārājā*: This would not be the state's exalted Maharaja, but a person of lower status who was charged to keep order in a particular city.

The people are strictly enjoined to trade and bargain in the fairest of ways. Let no wrong practice obtrude. Do not engage in duplicity and do not trade falsely. 6.

If anyone practises his profession on another, do not regard him with loathing. To practise a profession—whether high, middle, or low—is a great service. There is no service equal to that of performing one's profession. 7.

The Maharaja is cautioned against judging a person's caste by the performance of one man. No one should ridicule another for practising his profession. 8.

If someone should ridicule [him] obtain the offender's name and see to it that he is punished. 9.

The Maharaja should always remain anxiously aware of his subjects' condition, whether in happiness or in sadness. Let him constantly repeat this prayer before the Lord Guru or Sri Akal Purakh:

Protector of the Poor, care for these people and their happiness, and by your foreknowledge let me, a mere worm, be of service in your presence. In the end may this service be acclaimed [with the cry] 'Glory be! Glory be!' 10.14.

15

[The first section is missing.]

When an important command is to be written by the Maharaja to the person who executes orders or to some other servant, it should be done as follows: First a letter bearing the seal and signature of the Maharaja is called a 'high order' (*mahā hukam*). For whom should it be written? [It should be addressed to] a commander of between 3,000 and 80,000 soldiers and should relate to an important matter. And what rank should be entrusted to deliver it? It should be entrusted to a strong commander who should advance a distance of seven kos from his headquarters to receive it. He should bow before it five times when it is a short distance away¹³ and then, when it comes closer he should again salute it five times. In this manner, he should [on each occasion] bow before it five times. He should then receive the 'high order', place it on his head, bring it up to his eyes, and placing it on his head respectfully, bring it to his headquarters together with the commander,¹⁴ [who has delivered the message].

¹³At a distance of one bow-shot.

¹⁴*balayantakāri*: powerful one.

There he should read the 'high order' and execute it without delay. 2.

When a written order that has the vazir's seal affixed and is signed by the Maharaja, the recipient will acknowledge the order received. The order which the Maharaja records orally is called the 'correct order' (*hasabul-hukam*) in the language of foreigners.¹⁵ This order will be delivered to the person concerned, who should receive it outside the city. He should salute it once and, carrying it on his head [or] at his side, should proceed to his station [inside the city]. Having read it, he should act as instructed as speedily as possible. 3.

If a document bearing the vazir's seal comes only from the vazir, [the recipient] can do with it as he sees fit. He can accept it as an order and act accordingly. 4.

If an order is not obeyed the Maharaja should dismiss [the offender] from his service and strip him of his goods. Beat him. [That way the Maharaja] will no longer have any disobedient servants. 5.15.

16

[The first section is missing.]

If any servant or any wealthy person from amongst [the Maharaja's] subjects should die the means of disposing of his goods is as follows. If anyone from among the Maharaja's servants should be called to heaven (*dev lok ko chalaṭā hoi*), let his property be initially gathered into the treasury. Then that which is known as the royal share—it is called the 'exaction' (*mutālabā*)—is the Maharaja's and may be taken from the property. The remainder should be delivered to the heirs. If it is a case of a debtor who is still in debt, let the amount be paid and then the remainder can go to his heirs, whether it is cash, or commodities, or land. This is the procedure to follow. 2.

If a wealthy man should die his property should be dispersed according to the same procedure. 3.

If there is no heir the procedure for disposing of property should be as follows: First take the 'exaction', and pay back any outstanding debts. The remainder should then be credited to gifts (*bakhash-dān*) from the treasury, so that his dying moments may be happy and so that someone else may make use of it. 4.16.

¹⁵In the Jamni (Greek) language.

17

The Maharaja should dispense various symbols of authority to his servants in the following manner. To the commander of 50 men, a spear with the blade of a dagger attached to its head. The dagger should have one blade which should be four *girah*¹⁶ wide and eight *girah* long. Where [the spear] is round, the shaft should be affixed, the hilt underneath and the blade above. On the blade there should be engraved the Goddess on the Lion [or] 'Bhavani Devi'. The spear should be nine *gaz*¹⁷ in length and, mounted on a horse, it should precede [him]. The name of this symbol of authority is *jamadār-barachhā* [or 'dagger-lance'] and it should be bestowed on all who command between 50 and 100 men. The commander of 100 should receive two dagger-lances and the commander of 50 should receive one. 1.

From the commander of 200 men to the commander of 1,000 the symbol is a *kripān-barachhā* [or 'sword-lance']. Its form is as follows. First the staff, which should be strong, is nine *gaz* in length. At the top of the staff, a crossbar measuring 12 *girah* [in length] should be affixed like a polo stick, with portions of equal length on either side. Then, on the head of both sides of the crossbar, [affix] swords (*talavārān*) and broad-swords (*khaṇḍe*), each of them six fingers apart and 12 *girah* long. Let both of them be well-fashioned. On the head of both sides of the crossbar, affix them there by the hilt. Let the hilts be beaten into beautiful shapes. 2.

He who commands more than 200 mounted men shall receive one lance—the *kripān-barachhā*. The shaft shall be of silver. He who has more than 400 under him has two lances; more than 600 has three; more than 800 has four; and more than 1,000 has five, mounted on elephants. He who has 1,000 or more [mounted men under him] shall have one *kripān-barachhā* with a shaft made of gold. Thus are the symbols of authority dispensed. 3.

For the commanders of 2,000 to 5,000 [cavalry], the symbols of authority are as follows. A commander of 2,000 [men receives] a weapon called a *gul-shasatr*. What is a *gul-shasatr*? It is that weapon which everyone wields—a dagger (*kaṭārī*), a knife (*chhurī*), a poniard (*jamadār*), a sword (*kripān*), a bow and quiver (*kamān tarakas*), a curved dagger (*bāṇk*), a shield (*dhāl*). All these unsheathed weapons are strung out below it.

¹⁶1 *girah* = 1/16th of a yard.

¹⁷*gaz*: a measurement of varying length, approximately a metre long. The British fixed the length of a *gaz* at 33 inches.

What is the form of a gul-shasatr?¹⁸ First, heat its four feet underneath as with an oil lamp. Then apply wool to it so that like a lampstand a staff may stand up [in it]. All four feet should be six girah across [and] three or four girah [long]. The staff, about one and a half or two gaz in length, should stand between these feet, each of which should measure four girah round. Two staves, each one-and-a-quarter gaz long, [should support it], and in the middle should be a hole into which the staff should be affixed, projecting upwards like a spinning-wheel. Affix it from east to west, from north to south, and from top to bottom. Fasten the legs at intervals of six girah above each other. Then on those big staves, on the top of which are affixed the small staves, fix them transversely at distances of a gaz in length. Let there be five symbols of authority. Up to the fifth there are four symbols, each marked by a staff. Each symbol should be a staff four girah less [than the last one]. On top of the gul-shasatr construct a large lion, four girah high and six or seven girah in length. Above it, [mounted on the lion], construct a model of the immortal and supremely brave Bhavani Devi.

On top of those staves that stand symbolically on all four sides, make small lions with lightly armed warriors sitting on each. Under those lions put hinges on all four sides. Taking the lions where the staves are transverse, put three hinges, all facing the same way, to hang a sword. Fix four hinges underneath the large lion, which is at the end. And above it, where the idol is, place an umbrella. In this way is a gul-shasatr constructed. 4.

The commander of 2,000 [cavalry] should receive one gul-shasatr of unsheathed weapons, with the shield and the quiver in a scabbard. All [other] weapons should be unsheathed—three jamadar-barachhe and four kripan-barachhe. These are symbols of authority. 5.

The commander of 3,000 [cavalry should receive] two gul-shasatr—one of unsheathed weapons and the other of sheathed stabbing weapons—Four jamadar-barachhe, and five kripan-barachhe. 6.

The commander of 4,000 [cavalry should receive] three gul-shasatr—one of unsheathed weapons which cannot take a scabbard, and two of sheathed weapons—five jamadar-barachhe and six kripan-barachhe. 7.

The commander of 5,000 [cavalry should receive] four gul-shasatr—one of unsheathed weapons and three of sheathed—six jamadar-barachhe and seven kripan-barachhe. From 2,000 to 5,000, the symbol of authority should be of gold. Whether it is jamadar-barachha, or kripan-barachha or gul-shasatr, they should each receive a symbol of gold. All other symbols

¹⁸The form of the *gul-shasatr* is obscure.

should be of silver. When they are mounted on elephants or on horses, these symbols should not accompany them. 8.

To the commanders of 6,000 to 12,000 [cavalry] should be given a *māhī-marātib* ('great symbol of authority'). For every thousand give one *mihar-marātab* ('gracious symbol'). 9.

Above 6,000, however many thousands there may be upto 12,000, give one mihar-maratab [for every 1,000 cavalry]. Whoever is entrusted with a manasab of 5,000, let the jamadar-barachhe and kripān-barachhe be his symbol of authority. 10.

The procedure for what is called the mihar-maratab is as follows. Construct a small garden of silver like a living bed of flowers, four gaz long and two and a half gaz wide, with each of the edges half a gaz. On the edges of all four sides, at intervals of four girah, place fountains. The water from them will irrigate the garden. For that garden make flowers of gold, with shrubs of various colours. Use the water given off by the fountain as art dictates. This is a mihar-maratab. It will go ahead of a 'strong' (*balavantakārī*) rider. 11.

Also issue a mahi-maratab. How is it to be given? Every head that of a man and every body that of a fish. The symbol [will resemble] the image of a large snake and also the symbol of the image of lions. 12.17.

18

Now the orders of authority for great princes and brothers [of the Maharaja]. They have come to be called *raj-bhrat* [or 'royal brothers']. A prince should be entrusted with the command of a manasab of upto 80,000. For every 1,000 [foot soldiers, he should retain] 20 horsemen. Maintain this [proportion]. 1.

And he who is the heir apparent, according to custom, keep him at one and a half times the Commanders. Let his salary be one and a half times theirs. The point of this is that the heir will receive [the right] to rule as master in place of the Maharaja. On the Maharaja's heir should be conferred a status valued at one and a half times that of the commanders. 2.

As for the other princes and royal brothers, grant them income, according to tradition, equal to that of the vazir or the commanders. They should have a cavalry of 20 horsemen for every 1,000 men. Their symbols of authority should be one and a half times the value of those of the [other] commanders. 3.

Beware of other royal brothers and princes. They who desire to rule should not be encouraged to intrigue. 4.

The Maharaja should do as follows: Do not let any of the brothers

lay plans to exercise rule. He who is known as a sinner or is disobedient, keep him in prison [but] do not kill him. 5.18.

19

The Maharaja should do as follows, riding and holding court, and dispensing justice with his symbols of authority: First, establish a *divān sarbang* ['court of every virtue' or 'every branch'] with a place for sitting which none may approach. And let a throne, inlaid with jewels, be set up in that place for sitting. And let all the vazirs, vakils, Commanders, princes, and royal brothers—all members of his retinue (*maratabe*)—stand [there]. The Maharaja should be seated in an elevated place on a throne. Let the throne be set where his personal vazir or appointed heir may approach. The Maharaja should sit at such a place where all can see him and hear his command. 1.

[Officers] of all levels and status should address the divan sarbang with regard to [the Maharaja's] orders. Who are the members of the retinue? First the mihar maratab [and] secondly the *ganesh maratab*. What is the *ganesh maratab*? Let there be a white elephant. If it is naturally white, that is excellent. Otherwise colour it white. Clothe and adorn it with precious jewels. Then over it put a large tent. In it should be a sword, the blade of which should be as wide as 11 fingers of a normal man. Its length should be one-and-a-half gaz, well burnished. Put vermilion and flowers on it, with four unsheathed swords on four sides, fixed on the top of towers. One unsheathed sword should be affixed on the top of the uppermost tower and this whole golden tent should be studded with jewels. 2.

The third rank [in the retinue] has already been specified. Everything that concerns the state has [been notified]. 3.

When the Maharaja holds court (*divān*), let the drums be joyously beaten. Dancing girls should perform, hymns should be sung, scholars should read from the Vedas. All who are members of the royal retinue should come and sit in attendance. 4.

When the Raja holds court then, regardless of status distinction, no one should be regarded as high or low. People should occupy seats in a natural way. Only those people should be present who have been appointed. Those who wish to make a request should leave when ordered to do so. 5.

When a court [commences], the rider [who enters it] should be a

minister. All should accompany this rider. The vazir and the heir apparent, these two should together be near the rider. The princes and the royal brothers should [occupy positions] both ahead [of him] and behind. 6.

Those who are powerful should place their symbols of authority ahead and behind their armies, and on the right and on the left. All around are other worthy men. 7.

If he is a rider, what [mount] should the Maharaja ride? As a first preference he should ride a horse. If one of a golden colour is not available, then let it be the colour of a blue squirrel. Ride on that. Or ride on a white elephant. If a white elephant is not available, then colour one white, or else ride on a noble ['throne-approved'] horse. The day should be auspicious. 8.

In wartime ride a horse. Whether he be a chieftain, a maharaja, or a commander, he should act like a chieftain and be mounted on a horse in wartime. 9.

Wherever a camp of tents is established, throw up a wall around it. In what order [should they be protected]? First [build a wall] around the camp of the Maharaja; then around the camp of the prince; then around the camp of the minister. 10.

The commander of 100 troops should have five pioneers and five axe-men under him. He should retain them according to this calculation. Whether the commander of 5,000 men or more than this he should observe this custom. 11.

Around an army encampment, four watches should be stationed. The first one should be at the rear; the second forward; the third on the right; and the fourth on the left. Large armies should do this. Establish your guard-posts. Establish nine guard posts. The first is for the prince, the second for the vazir, the third for the divan, the fourth for the general, the fifth for very high commanders. For the remainder, establish [the balance of] nine. 12.

When an unsuccessful revolt is raised do not treat the matter lightly. Do not treat fire and opposition lightly, for they take no time to flare up. It is necessary to suppress the offender. Do not be negligent. Negligence causes losses, whether worldly or [spiritual] in meaning. Remember God or sing hymns, for thus one repents. There is nothing to be gained [from this]. In this regard, it is said that he who has work to do—whether worldly work or spiritual—should remember it before it is completed. He who understands it and heartily accepts it will act on it. In the end he will be very contented. 13.19.

The Maharaja acts as follows, [requiring all whom he rules to obey this advice]: If there is anyone who trusts his worldly goods to Akal Purakh and graciously obeys his commands, he should follow this advice. Apart from the woman to whom he is wed he should neither marry nor keep company with any other woman. 1.

He should marry only one woman. If he feels that she is not the kind of person whom he would have chosen, he should, appreciating the urgency of the matter, unite with someone of equal status. If [the original marriage] produces no children or no sons, he should unite with this [second] wife. For the sake of having children, unite with upto seven women. He who is not willing to do this, let him keep the first woman and subjugate his passions. Such a person will receive blessings. To be content with one woman shows the virtue of a great man. If she is worthy of him and obeys his commands, he should not, for the sake of lust, unite with another. In the end there will be difficulty, and he will repent. 2.

If he has a wife he should not marry a maid. He should marry a servant [only] when he has no other woman and is unable to resist the demands of lust. Acceptance should be given according to the rules that are specified. May the Guru protect you, for there is no better way than this. It is a filthy thing, but it is better than an illegitimate union or adultery with another's woman. 3.

Concerning the female servants and handmaids in the palace, let the following rule be observed. Keep them for union with himself. To keep a woman in the zenana without a husband is a serious sin. To see her without a husband is grievous. Keep women in the zenana who are chaste. Keep no others without a master. 4.

It is incumbent on the Raja¹⁹ that he should never go to a prostitute, and a woman should not go to another man. Without a master, a woman's life is hell. Women should live without a husband only if they are widows, or virgins ones who love chastity and live with self respect. [This rule] should be [firmly] upheld in the [Raja's] kingdom. 5.

And one other strict injunction should be enforced in his kingdom: If anyone follows a profession, he should not abandon his profession and take on another, nor should he teach it to anyone else [other than his son]. This rule should be very strictly applied so that no one follows the profession to which he is not entitled. The person following a particular profession should be called by his actual name, not that of

¹⁹'Maharaja' reverts again to 'Raja'.

the caste (jāti). Do not call a caste by the same name as a profession. 6.

It is the Raja's duty to see that nobody should be without work or the means of employment. He should care for the public [in general] and every individual [in particular]. It is for this purpose that the Raja was created, in order that the people might be well served. The people should remain contented. 7.20.

21

She who belongs to the zenana palace of the raja should be addressed as 'the supreme lord's maharani' (*mahārānī rājesharī*). If of the prince's palace, she should be called 'the prince's queen' (*kumār-rānī*), and if of a royal brother's palace (*rāj-bhrāt*), she should be known as 'the brother's wife' (*bhrāt rānī*). If from the palaces of the vazir and the commander, the title is '[from] the palace of the Singhs'. The mother of the Maharaja should be addressed as 'the royal mother Maharani' (*rāj mātā mahārānī*). 1.

The following instructions apply to a woman who goes riding: When riding a camel, a woman should sit sidesaddle, and likewise on a mule. If there is no mule for her to ride, place her on an good-natured horse. Otherwise let her ride in a *chaṇḍol*,²⁰ a *pālki*,²¹ a *ḍoli*,²² a *bahil*,²³ or a *rath*.²⁴ She who is of superior rank should [refuse] the mule, the horse, the *chaṇḍol* and the *palki*, [and ride] a camel or an elephant. The elephant is for royalty. 2.

Do not let the eunuchs (*khoje*) come and see you early in the morning. Do not show yourself in the morning. Present yourself after the fifth hour of the day. 3.

It is the Maharaja's duty, according to his judgment, to assign dignities to his people—to all his people, whether they be princes, princes' brothers, the vazir, commanders, menial servants, peasants, any and all of his people. Do not leave anyone out of the estimate. Let all be happy. 4.21

Here ends gloriously the eighth chapter of *Srī Param Sumārag*,

'The pattern of political conduct'. 8

May the All-Steel keep me.

May Akal protect me.

²⁰Sedan chair.

²¹A palanquin or litter.

²²A litter.

²³A small two-wheeled vehicle without springs, drawn by two oxen.

²⁴A carriage.

Chapter 9

Justice for the people in the name of the Sovereign of the Entire World

1

A [virtuous] person should act as follows: First, he should arise at an early hour and, having risen, he should free himself from daily affairs as is the command and the commitment. He should then go to his mother and father, and lay some food at their feet. Then, drawing his [own] feet together [in submission], he should respectfully offer them a salām five times. 1.

He should then go to his elder brothers and father's brothers, and respectfully salām them. Do not consider their actions when you salām your elders. Treat them as respectable. Then go to the Guru,¹ make an offering of some food, touch the floor with your forehead, and offer a salām. Thus obtaining happiness from the Guru, take up your worldly and religious affairs, and be successful. 2.

2

This person should divide what he receives for his work as follows: First, whatever his Guru needs, he should have. Let us suppose that the

¹This presumably means the Guru Granth Sahib.

remainder amounts to five rupees. Of this, one rupee should be laid before his parents; one rupee should be given to his wife; one rupee should be kept for pious works; half a rupee should be spent on clothing; a quarter of a rupee for sweet smells; a quarter of a rupee for dried fruit, green vegetables, and milk; and a quarter of a rupee to give food to someone in need. The remainder should be used for food. Spend this portion as need dictates. It is an easy task. 1.

If perchance he owes a debt to someone, deduct the Guru's portion and, from the remainder, pay half to the creditor. If a debt has not been discharged, then be sensible and do not wear perfumed clothing. Do not drink milk, do not take ghee, eat only what you can buy with a single paisa. Do not consume meat and do not take any intoxicant. Until the debt has been discharged, do not set your heart on wearing such clothes. If by chance anyone, for whatever reason and quite naturally, should discharge it, do not think bad of him. There is nothing wrong with this. 2.

Let the half portion of the debt that still remains be apportioned fairly [as guarantors] between your mother, father, and wife, but nobody else. While it is still undischarged, work it off. 3.

When you realize that you no longer have any debt to pay, then, in the manner specified above, let [the benefit] be fairly distributed [amongst the guarantors]. 4. 2.

3

If someone dies without leaving offspring or grandsons, his property should be distributed as follows: He who has to pay a debt, let his creditor have first call upon his property, whether it is cash, goods, or land. If cash is available, that is excellent. Let payment be made from it. If [the deceased] does not have cash then let his goods or land be sold. Whatever remains, the Raja should take it and deposit it in his treasury of charitable funds. 1.

If there is a grandson, all the property after loans have been repaid should go to him. 2.

And if there is only a daughter, the property should go to her. 3.

If there is a son-in-law and his daughter has died; and if some land, or a house, or money has been paid to her surviving father-in-law or mother-in-law; and if, like his daughter, they both should die, those goods should go to no one else. They should come back to him. If the [parents-in-law should] survive, but the daughter dies nothing should go to the son-in-law. 4.

If he has no offspring except one daughter, and she survives [him],

everything should go to her. She should be the mistress of all property. 5.

Anything that is bequeathed to a daughter's son should also be bequeathed to a daughter's daughter. 6.

He who has no son, daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, son's daughter, son's son, great-grandson,² great-granddaughter,³ great-great-grandson,⁴ great-great-granddaughter,⁵ —[in other words] who has no surviving offspring—[his property] should go to his real brother, to his brother's sons and daughters, to the children of his brother's son, and to those of his brother's daughter. 7.

If he has no brother or [alternatively, if his brother has no] male descendants, then [his property] should go to his brother's daughter's son and daughter. 8.

And as his brother receives, so should his sister also receive. His sister's son and daughter should also receive one third of the brother's share. So should a sister's son and daughter inherit [property]. [9.]

If he has a paternal uncle, younger (*chāchā*) or older (*tāyā*) than his father, and if the younger uncle has a son, if he dies without issue, then [those relatives shall benefit from his death. The inheritance will pass to] the brother's son and the brother's daughter. The younger and older brothers shall [both pass on] the inheritance. 10.

When one of these relatives provides an heir, the Raja will not take [the property]. If there is a debt to be paid, these various heirs shall discharge it. Why? Because to have a debt outstanding at the time of death is a grievous crime, and thus the person is freed from it. 11.3.

4

How should [property] be inherited by those who have no issue? When there are descendants in the direct male line to the fourth generation, then no one [else] receives anything. 1.

If there are none of these, then descendants in the female line to the fourth generation should inherit. 2.

If there are none of these, then the brother, the brother's son, and grandson should inherit. If he has a daughter and a granddaughter, they too should inherit, and his sister also. 3.

²Son's son's son.

³Son's son's daughter.

⁴Son's son's son's son.

⁵Son's son's son's daughter.

If there are no such relatives, then his uncles should inherit, both younger and older, and also their descendants. 4.

Concerning the shares: While a person is alive, his goods should be divided between his sons, daughters, daughters' sons, daughters' daughters, sisters, sisters' daughters, sisters' sons, and brothers, but it is not good for more [to participate]. In this way, [his property] should be divided while he is alive. 5.

If perchance this person's son or daughter dies without having received his or her portion, there are grandsons [the offspring of his son]. There may be four of them, or five, or [only] two. And together with them, there will [also] be granddaughters [the son's daughters]. Thus [is a family constituted]. Let them take equal portions. 6.

If perchance there are none of these descendants [still living], let their [own] descendants divide the inheritance. 7.

If there are none of these, but there is a brother and a sister, the brother and the sister should divide [the inheritance] equally between themselves. 8.

And if perchance there are none of these, but [the brothers or sisters have] sons, daughters, and granddaughters [who are the daughters of sons], they should divide it equally. 9.

And if there are none of these, then it should be divided between the sons and daughters of [his] daughters. 10.

If there are four brothers and one should die, the descendants of that brother should receive [the inheritance] equally with the [three surviving] brothers. 11.

If he has no male descendants, [the property] should be divided equally between the descendants of the remaining [brothers]. 12.

If one of the brothers has no children, neither female (*āl*) nor male (*aulād*),⁶ his share should go to the others' [children]. 13.

If a father has goods and landed property, and he should die leaving four daughters, whether the children of a first or a second wife,⁷ [his goods and property] should be divided in the following way: If they are the children of the first or second wife, both of them still living, the division should be as follows: First, give a fourth part of the goods and property to the first and second wife. Half of this quarter share should go to one and half to the other. 14.

⁶Whereas *āl* designates the maternal progeny, *aulād* is used for the male progeny. John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindī, and English* (London, 1911), p.73.

⁷*bi mātr*: stepmother.

When only one of a father's women is still alive, the whole of that fourth part should go to her. 15.

Dispense as follows what remains after this fourth part has been allocated: After the fourth part has been subtracted, give the remainder of the goods to the daughters, dividing it equally among them. 16.

If any of those daughters should have died, let her portion go to her children (*āl-aulādh*). 17.

Divide any remainder of the goods equally among their brothers (*bhāi*). 18.

If the first and second wife are no longer alive, give a quarter of the goods to the daughters, and distribute the remainder to their brothers. 19.

If there is no daughter, give it all equally to [the sons]. 20.

If any of these brothers has died, his portion should be distributed as noted above to his children. 21.

If by chance father and son quarrel over any matter, and the father out of anger arising from the quarrel is speechless, and the father recovers, and the son does not forgive the disagreement (*gunāh*) between his father and himself, then he should not receive any portion of his father's goods or property. It should go to [that son's] brothers. He should receive nothing. 22.

If, [however,] he is penitent, and if his father, having recovered, remembers the cause of his anger and will not forgive him, the son [is freed from the results of] the disagreement. He is master of the property and should receive a portion. This is because his heart was softened and he fell at [his father's] feet. Although the father may not forgive him for the quarrel, the son is [now] blameless for the disagreement and is master of his father's goods. 23.

If for any reason a quarrel should develop between son and father, and the son should depart [without the disagreement being settled], then if the son should receive news that his father is dying, he should write beseeching forgiveness. The father should then humbly forgive him. If a father responds to such pleading with forgiveness, it is good. If he does not forgive him, [the son] is nevertheless excused. 24.

If the son has sought forgiveness and the father has not forgiven him, and he has written an apology at the time of [his father's] dying which did not arrive, then a few⁸ years after his father's death [at which he was not present], he should be forgiven and receive the right to [his father's] goods. 25.

⁸*dunh chār*: two four

A son should not refer to his mother and father in equal terms. If the son is bearded, he will have sons and grandsons, and knowing the truth, will live a life of service [to them]. A son should model himself on his parents. Let there be no protest about this. And if he speaks from the heart in anger, storing it within, he can be forgiven after an hour has passed. If his parents forgive him, that is good. If they do not, their son can still regret it. He should still serve [his parents] and follow their way, leaving them to themselves. 26

Suppose that a father happens to have a second wife and says that [his son] should obey this stepmother. If the son refuses to obey her, believing his father to be wrong, [he the son is wrong]. The second wife should be considered the equivalent of the first wife. 27.

If there is a daughter, and neither son nor grandson all goods should be left to that daughter. 28.

If there is no daughter, but there is a niece the property should go to her. 29.

If there is no [living] niece the property should pass to her children. First it should go to her male progeny. If there be none it should pass to the female progeny. 30.4

5

If a servant of the Maharaja dies and goes to heaven his property should be treated as follows: First, if he owes anyone anything the amount should be subtracted from his property. 1.

Then, from what remains, the portion which is due to the state should be taken. What then remains should be allocated in the manner noted above, being distributed amongst his heirs. Let not the Raja display his greed for it.⁹ 2.5

6

If anyone finds anything while travelling, whether cash or kind, the procedure is as follows: He whose land the path crosses should receive one quarter of the proceeds. The remainder you may retain. If the owner of the discovered property is located, you may retain an eighth part of it and return the remainder to the owner. 1.

⁹The reference in sections 1 and 2 to the Maharaja and the Raja as the same person indicates that for the author there is no difference in the terms.

If anyone rents a house or property and finds something valuable hidden in the ground, behind a wall, or some other place, the procedure is as follows: First he should ask the owner of the house if he has lost something of value in the house. If [the owner] can offer some clue [of having lost it] or gives some sign [which indicates an awareness of the missing item], keep one eighth and return to him the remainder. 2.

If he gives no indication, return to him one-third and keep two thirds yourself. 3.

If the Raja should want a share, it would be inappropriate for him to receive it. If he demands a share, let him have one-sixth of the property. The remainder should be disposed of as noted above. 4.6

7

When two people fight, he who emerges as winner must settle the cause of the dispute. 1.

If a case is brought against someone who engages in a brawl, say to his accuser, 'Produce a witness'. To him against whom the complaint is lodged [say], 'Give him satisfaction and we will know that you are speaking the truth. Be sensible and act justly. Speak the truth to him.' When you know that he is telling the truth, believe him. He who has summoned one witness must now call five. The witnesses must be people who can be trusted not to lie. Thus they should speak. In the interest of justice, the witnesses should be kept apart and not permitted to mingle. Question them separately. When their stories are different, punish both the witnesses and the person who has lodged the complaint. Punish them so that they do not lie or quarrel again. Perform justice like this and there will be no quarrels. 2.7

8

[The first two sections have been omitted.]

If a man takes a second wife and has children by her let there be no cause for disagreement. That man should accommodate the women in separate houses, and the two sets of children should receive separate allowances. Both should receive what is necessary and in equal portions, whether in expenditure or in anything else. There should be equal intercourse between the man and [each] wife. 3.

If [a man] should marry a second wife [*parasanjog*], she should receive

two portions of the first wife's five portions of everything, as written above. Give three portions to the first wife. The second wife should belong to the same caste [baran] as the man. 4.

If the woman belongs to an inferior caste or is a slave, she should receive one portion. The wife who has been [properly] married should be given two portions.¹⁰ 5.

When both wives belong to the same caste or when both are slaves give them equal portions. 6.

The son of a wife of good family and the son born of a maidservant should receive equal shares of their father's property. The same applies to daughters, regardless of whether the mother comes from a respectable family or is a maidservant. 7.

When daughters are born but no son, and the mother still lives, no portion should go to the daughters. If the mother is still alive, [her share] can be willed to them and thus the daughters have the authority to receive it in equal shares when their parents are no more. 8.

If any of the daughters should still be unmarried her portion should be retained by her parents, and kept separate for her marriage and other necessities. The remainder can then be distributed to the other daughters. After [married] brothers and daughters have had their shares from their father this will leave the unmarried daughters. They can then receive all of their portions for their marriages and other necessities, as has been indicated above. 9.

If one of those daughters should be widowed, the daughters' shares should be pooled and she should receive a double share. The remainder can then be distributed equally [amongst the other daughters]. 10.

When, according to law, the [deceased] father's portion has been distributed to brothers, sisters, and wives, it falls upon [his] son to care for his mother. This applies whether she is the first wife, the second wife, the daughter of the second wife, or his own mother [whichever it may be], and it involves both food and dress. He should care for his [unmarried] sister as his parents had cared for her. If there is a widow amongst his sisters he should feed and clothe her, regardless of the fact that she may have already been granted her share [of her husband's property]. He should not be remiss. What was his parents' responsibility is now his. Now he should care for his [mother] and sisters. He cannot consult his parents. A son must serve. This is the command of Sri Guru Akal Purakh [the Immortal One. All relatives, whether] mother, father, stepmother's son

¹⁰The superior wife should receive twice as much as the inferior wife.

[or anyone else] should show love and affection without any quarrelling. Where there is love the whole family will benefit and live in peace. 11.8

9¹¹

A person keeps a deposit in trust with someone, whether in cash or in produce. [This he should not do.] He should not do so, for it may be lost or stolen. The person who has made that deposit should not ask [for it back], accepting [the loss] as the Guru's wish. He who asks for it should not receive it. If an enquiry is held, he who holds the deposit will demand something in return. The holder of the deposit should ask for a search or he should declare that [its loss] has happened because of greed. He gives [what is required for such a search]. If the deposit has been lost and its owner accepts something in return, it is an unclean and dirty action, and will render no good. 1.

It may happen that the holder of that deposit, for whatever reason, spends the money and thus incurs expenditure. [The vendor] says to him, 'I need [payment]. Give [it to me].' The holder of the deposit says, 'I have a trade [to consider]. Take part payment.' [The vendor should not press him.] 'I am comfortable,' [he says.] 'I do not need it.' He should not demand it unless it is [voluntarily] paid. If he cannot pay you—even part payment—say nothing more. 2.

The person who retains the deposit is unwise to keep it, and if he does retain it, he should be very careful with it. If he wants to do something for which he needs money, he must not use the trust money, even though the work suffers. 3.

When the depositor comes to ask for [the money] to be returned [to him]—whether [he comes] halfway through the night, or in the later stages of the night, or during the day—the deposit should be returned without delay. If [the holder of the deposit] puts off payment, all the merit of this virtuous deed will be wasted. He may die of hunger, but he should not deviate from honesty, even if it costs him the respect [in which others hold him]. 4.

If perchance the trust money is lost and, by the Guru's grace (*hukam*), the person who held the deposit is willing [to make up the loss], he should not spread it abroad that the trust money of someone (*amukā*)

¹¹Several parts of section 9 are very difficult to translate. The translation is questionable.

has gone. Instead, he should immediately refund the money [from his own resource]. 5.

You should remember first [of all] that it is not good to keep a trust deposit. If you must keep them, be very cautious that you do not misappropriate the rights of others. 6.9

10

The method [to be followed] when taking a loan is as follows: The first thing is that you should strive to avoid going into debt. Being indebted is a serious matter. 1.

It is obligatory for the person from whom a loan is requested to give the loan immediately. If ready money is not available, [the lender] should pawn ornaments or borrow from someone [else]. He should not refuse the loan or put off advancing it. One should regard it good fortune to perform an act of kindness to someone by helping him with money. 2.

If anyone wants to raise a loan for his business, or for food and clothing, he should approach a lender. [The lender] should not charge the borrower any interest. It is cruel to charge interest on a loan. Do not refuse a loan out of greed for interest, [asking yourself] what gain is there if I make this loan? Nothing is lost in giving a loan when the lender does not ask the borrower for its return. When you do not ask for it, the lender will give it and you will take it. To charge interest is not right. This is the will [of the Guru]. 3.

When we talk of interest on a loan the question arises of the kind of loan involved. They who take it for business or for the maintenance of a household should pay interest. This kind of transaction between people is acceptable. 4.

He who borrows should not rest content until he has repaid the loan. Do not look askance on a loan where the taking of interest is permissible. Taking such a loan and giving interest on it is a common practice, and there is nothing wrong with it. Let your business be small-scale and, as far as possible, avoid borrowing. Work hard rather than borrow. May Guru Baba Nanak protect you from borrowing. 5.10

11

For the person who initiates marriage proceedings and then goes back on his word the procedure is as follows: Let us suppose that an arrangement

has been made orally for a certain boy to be engaged to his daughter, and for some reason or other he decides that it cannot take place. That engagement, orally agreed, cannot be broken. Whatever the defect [in the boy], it cannot be refused. Whatever the reason the betrothal cannot be broken off. 1.

When two women are pregnant when the men or the women agree that if only one gives birth to a girl, a marriage will be arranged [between the two children]. Otherwise it will not take place. [If this method works out] the marriage of both is [thereby] arranged. 2.

If anyone has engaged his daughter to the son of another, but plans to marry her to someone else without informing the father of the son [to whom she was engaged], the procedure is as follows: [If the girl has been married to this second boy] it is essential for him [the father] to declare that his daughter's marriage is invalid. She should be separated from the boy to whom she was married, and should be married to the one to whom she was originally betrothed. 3.

If the father of the boy has to terminate a betrothal arrangement because of some defect [in the boy], he must pay the Raja [a commission of] 1,000 rupees. He must also provide food worth 1,000 rupees to his caste brotherhood (birādārī). The reason for this is no one should be permitted to back away from a promise to marry his daughter or son. Whatever promise has been given to the other must be honoured in the case of a betrothal. 4.

[There is no section 5. It may have been conflated with section 6, though this appears unlikely, as section 6 deals with a single subject.]

If anyone commits evil deeds¹² with a woman to whom he is not related, or, with or without her permission, keeps her in his house, the following procedure should be followed: If the woman's husband is still alive, the person who has taken that woman into his house should exchange his own woman with [that woman's] husband. [The aggrieved husband] should be permitted to keep her for as many days as his [own] wife was kept. Evil deeds should be terminated and an explanation given, and then his [own] woman can be returned to him. An example should be made of [the man] who performs evil deeds with a woman. 6.

The woman who has been living with another man to whom she is not related while her husband is still alive, and who has been doing evil things, should be treated as follows: Put her in confinement. Bear her

¹²Sexual intercourse.

expenses, and for one year, give her only a quarter of the food that she requires. Her husband should not go near her for two years. When two years have expired, she can be set free. Give her what food she needs. When two full years have passed, and she has forsaken those deeds then he may associate with her. If she returns to [those deeds], turn her out of the house. This is the purpose of this method. No one will [thereafter] perform such deeds. 7.

If [a person] has no wife and performs these evil deeds with a woman with whom he is not related, the method [of settling the matter] is as follows. This is the condition [which he deserves]: The man, who strides thus around the town with his head clean-shaven, should have his face blackened and, seated backwards [on a donkey] he should be beaten with shoes. He should be fined 500 rupees which should go to the Raja, and he should be imprisoned for one year with a quarter share of his food. Then free him. If, after this punishment, anyone acts as this woman and man [have acted], cut their noses off and set them free. 8.

If a woman who does not have a man commits evil deeds, she should be entrusted to that man who commits evil deeds with her. Whether it be a male Muslim (malechh), a male Hindu, or a female Muslim with whom they cohabit, treat them in the same manner as noted above, [which means] that if a man or a woman cohabit, they should be allowed to live together. There is nothing wrong with this. 9.

If any woman or man is not able to tolerate this way of life because of their modesty a second marriage is in order. There is nothing wrong with this, regardless of caste or whether the woman is a slave. The fault lies in the evil deeds. Marriage is the purest estate. 10.11

12

If one keeps slaves, whether purchased, captured, or released from bandits, the procedure is as follows. If some parents sell their children to meet their expenses or for any other reason, the purchaser should obtain from the parents written permission properly witnessed. The written testimony should state:

'I give my children to (the buyer named) to work [for him] for (the number specified) years and in exchange I have received (the number specified) rupees. He will take responsibility for the feeding and clothing of the child. The clothing which they are given must be sufficient to cover their bodies. Whatever kind of food is given to them must be sufficient to satisfy them.' 1.

The child [who is sold in this manner] must remain on duty day and night. His parents may visit him. These same parents will be his surety. 2.

If the parents should want to have their children back they may not do so until they have returned the money. 3.

He who is released from prison [where he was held for an offence]—whether by purchase or by [giving] a month's salary—when he worked as servant, or as a bandit, if his parents or his master wish to free him, a companion pays the amount which he had taken, and so he is freed. His mother, father, brother, uncles on both sides of the family, maternal grandfather, or any of his relations can be his companion and, paying, the money can have him freed.¹³ 4.

If the person taking him does not pay, make him do so. Money works. [If he does not pay] his man will have no claim. 5.

The money should be accepted when a memorandum accompanies it, as stated above, bearing the seal of the director of the prison. 6.

A male or female slave may say, 'We shall stay with him who bought us.' In that case, the relatives will have no claim. 7.

If a male or female slave should acquire the money that will enable him or her to be freed from imprisonment or capture, they should obtain their freedom from their master. 8.

When a companion of a male or female slave comes to free him or her the first thing is that he should be a relative [of the slave]. When the money is handed over and taken, he should act as a surety for the purchase. 9.

Anyone who wishes [to free] his children or other relations who are slaves should lodge a claim. If he does not have a document specifying the amount, he should obtain one from a companion. Then that person will be able to conduct an enquiry. 10.12

13

If someone sells or buys a horse, an ox, a camel, a cow, or an elephant, the procedure is as follows: If someone sells any of these animals, he should inform the officer concerned with a document describing the animal and its price, with a guarantee from the seller if the documents are not available. 1.

When a letter appears later the buyer may bring that animal and tell the seller that he will not take it. The seller should not take back the

¹³Translation uncertain.

animal, which should remain with the buyer. This should be done whether the animal is healthy or unhealthy, with or without fault. 2.

If the seller wants to have [the animal] back, he should not get it. As long as there is no document, the transaction cannot take place. The buyer should have two documents. One specifies the price received, and the other the whereabouts of the money. 3.

Someone may claim that the animal is his. If he who has the animal [also] has the documents, [it will mean that] the claimant is lying. The animal stays [with the one who holds the documents]. If there is no letter, the claimant should produce five witnesses. They should be examined separately. If [all] five witnesses speak in one voice and thus tell the same story, the thing – the animal – should be given to him. And if [all five] witnesses confirm the value and speak truthfully, divide the purchase price and give half each [to the two disputants]. If two witnesses from the same side tell lies and there is a wide discrepancy in what they say, then those witnesses should be punished and mounted on a donkey. A witness's untruth cannot flourish. Together with [the untruthful witness], untruth [itself] is punished. 4.

Someone claims a domestic animal to be his. The owner should have the document of its birth testified, with witnesses to support it. He should then produce the document when a dispute arises, and the animal should be given to him. He is known to be honest. It is the liar who should be punished. 5.

When another animal follows the first – by which is meant that it is born – the claimant is not entitled to it. It belongs to the person in whose house it was born. 6.

The method to be used by slaves is this: If children are born to them, and if for some reason those slaves were sold to a particular house, then those children belong to the parents [of that house], not to the actual parents [who are slaves]. 7.

If for some reason a wife is separated from her husband, and children are born to her, they belong to [her husband] their father. The wife does not keep them. 8.13

14

Concerning the valuation of a house, a mansion, a garden, land measuring [at least] one *biswa*:¹⁴ For calculating the value of a house in a town, first

¹⁴One biswa = 1/20th of a bigha (1/20th of 120 square feet).

take account of who lives in the other houses of the neighbourhood. Buy a house in the neighbourhood of those who belong to your Panth and caste (baran). If there is anyone belonging to a different caste there will be trouble. 1.

If such an arrangement is not practicable, you should buy a house in a neighbourhood occupied by respectable citizens. How should this be done? First ascertain who is the owner of a house [in the area which interests you], and when you have discovered that he does indeed own a house in the neighbourhood, pay him [for it]. Prepare all documents according to legal requirements. If the present owner has purchased it from another person attach those papers also. Let there be witnesses to this transaction. 2.

If the house belongs [in part] to the owner's father, grandfather, or other heirs their names should appear in the relevant papers. They should be given a share of the money to ensure their goodwill and cooperation. 3.

If amongst those who are recorded therein, there is any person who cannot be located, then having made inquiries, the purchaser should carefully retain [that missing person's] share of the purchase price. When he appears, give him [his share]. 4.

Someone may appear and say, 'This land is mine. It belonged to my forbears.' First subject him to an enquiry to ascertain the facts, and if he is found to be justified, pay his share in order to settle the dispute. 5

If that person should lodge a claim, let whatever payment is due from the purchaser be fixed at a suitable rate of interest for 100 rupees and the rental paid [to the person who has lodged the claim]. If any of these two or three people does not tell the truth, let him be punished so that no one will make any false claims. 6.14

15

The method of fixing interest [is as follows]: If anyone goes into debt for business reasons charge him nine annas¹⁵ for 100 rupees. 1.

If it is for the purchase of land or a building, it should be one rupee [for 100 rupees]. 2.

For buying an animal take 12 annas. 3.

For a debt incurred for purchasing slaves it should be eight annas. 4.

In this regard, if anyone charges [interest] on account of greed, he will appear with a blackened face in the court of Akal Purakh. Nothing in his

¹⁵There are 16 annas in a rupee.

faith (dharam) allows charging it for any of the things mentioned above. Persisting in so doing will lead him in the end to repent. 5.

What is the point of mentioning interest as is done above? [It is] so that business can proceed. Greed means [unhealthy] growth in this world. Greed and [selfish] business are [undesirable] worldly [desires]. 6.15

16

He who obeys these rules shall act according to the precepts [enunciated in this chapter] and will do nothing out of greed. Seated on the throne of justice, Sri Akal Purakh will acknowledge his presence and his record [will be read]. Nothing will be hidden—his avarice, his love, those of his brothers, sons, friends. Nothing in his record will be hidden from the Lord of the World. That person will be able to find liberation while yet living in this body. Justice will stand forth when anyone's record is not accepted, and [for that person] worship and devotion will count as nothing. 1.

He does an evil thing who [ignores] Sri Guru's written [word], and instead writes something else dictated by his own intelligence. His intelligence will be destroyed. 2.

When this person acts justly towards someone, he should do so by putting his faith before all else.¹⁶ One should never act unjustly out of greed or for property, [illegal] business, or for retaining another person's share. He will be severely punished in the end, and will be reborn as a wild pig or a dog. 3.16

The ninth chapter of *Srī Prem Sumārag Granth*, which concerns 'Justice', is ended. 9

May Sri All-Steel protect [me].

May Sri Akal Ji protect me.

¹⁶He should do so by placing his dharam on his head.

Chapter 10

The Way of Sahaj Yoga

1

The person [who reads this account] should say: 'I am content, devoid of doubt, and without fear. I have reached this condition, and I have achieved this by [following] the commandments of Sri Akal Purakh.' He has found life sweet and dwells in it intoxicated. 1.

Various kinds of ecstasy (*masaṭī*) come to a person in his worldly life. The first kind of ecstasy is his natural state (*hāl kī masaṭī*), which remains with him at all times. The second kind is the ecstasy of giving commands (*hukam*) to others. Others accept this authority, which means that [his] mother, wife, son, and servant are bound to obey. The third is the ecstasy of youth, which is a powerful one. The fourth is the ecstasy of possessions, the greatest intoxication of all. The fifth is the ecstasy of tranquility. The rapture in this case comes from liquor (*mad*) and opium. These [forms of] intoxication are [all] acknowledged as ecstasies. 2.

The highest form of intoxication (*masaṭī*), known as Sahaj Yoga.¹ It is called 'the divine Order' or 'the one Name'. When one is in this kind of ecstasy, doubt and fear no longer exist. Cares are forever absent. And

¹As Guru Nanak used the term *sahaj*, it meant the condition of ineffable bliss at the climax of *nām simaran*, the eternal bliss which resulted from union with Akal Purakh. The word was taken from the usage of the Nath yogis. *HDS*, p.182. Also pp.147,152–53.

in this state of ecstasy, one has access to the most loving lotus-feet [of Akal Purakh], wherein the various kinds of liberation merge as one. 3.

Those who know not these forms of ecstasy are caught up in the three-fold [toils of] *maya* and thus [entrapped, they endlessly] transmigrate, living a life of suffering. 4.1

2

This ecstasy—which is what Sahaj Yoga is called—is a condition which very few gurmukhs attain. These are the signs of that ecstasy or Sahaj Yoga, whatever one calls it. For the person who experiences that state, every breath (*sās girās*)² breathed during 24 hours is of one who knows this to be the divine Order of the Creator. He knows what has happened before, and [also] the difference between good and bad deeds, [according to the Creator's] will. He has heard the command and shuts his ears to slander. Only the praise of God (*hari*) does he want to hear. If someone utters slander, but does not mention Hari, he may hear it, but he does not listen to it within. 1.

If you feel hungry, have something to eat without paying heed to the food. If anyone gives you a cup of poison sahaj will change it to amrit as you drink it. 2.

[Section 3 has been omitted. In its place, there is a row of dots which suggests that it was missing from the manuscript.]

If by divine order, a Raja rules the entire earth, and the heaven of Indra, and the three worlds,³ and if by the divine order an earthenware cup [is put in] his hand, he goes from house to house begging for alms and no one gives him anything, the Raja should not be happy on account of his kingdom, nor should he grieve on account of his condition. Whatever happens, accept [both] the pleasures of that kingdom and the failure to give alms. 4.

[Section 5 begins with a row of dots which suggests that something was missing from the manuscript. It then continues:]

... Whatever customs are followed by the divine order in that condition, ecstasy remains. 5.

Treat amrit and poison as one. Regard honour and dishonour as equal.

²The expression is borrowed from Kabir: *sasī kīno sūr girāsā*, the moon has consumed the sun. *Rāmakālī Kabīr* 10, AG, p.972.

³*trilok*: heaven, earth, and the underworld.

Consider gold and earth as the same, and likewise hell and heaven. Do not differentiate between impure and pure objects, nor between the washed and unwashed. 6.

By means of sahaj and your contemplation, merge your being in the supreme Being and be one with It. Perceive sorrow and joy as one. Treat another's woman and your wife with the same [courtesy]. Those who have achieved sahaj know the divine Order also. 7.

If, from amongst these signs, you focus on everything rather than on one, then your evil deeds will [condemn you to] suffer 84 [crores] of existences. Sahaj Yoga is easier than easy, more difficult than difficult. 8.2

3

Sahaj Yoga is superior to all other yogas. He who explores Sahaj Yoga will discover everything within and without his body. [This is achieved] without the 'yoga of tribulation'.⁴ Be at peace. 1.

He who applies sahaj – sahaj when sleeping, sahaj when awake, sahaj when eating, sahaj when drinking, sahaj when seated, sahaj when doing household duties, sahaj when singing kirtan, sahaj when speaking, sahaj when silent—whoever does any of these with sahaj remains in that condition of ecstasy. 2.

Always remain happy. Never speak what is untrue. Bathe in the place of contentment. Do not apply effort to anything. He who differentiates between sadness and joy, hell and heaven, is the person who uses effort. Effort is the result⁵ of self-centredness (*haumai*). The cure for *haumai* is Sahaj Yoga, applying the divine order instead of human [remedies]. When a person fails to understand the divine order, [he fails also to apply] the remedy for *haumai*. In that case *haumai* does not disappear and sahaj cannot be found. When *haumai* goes, sahaj appears. Banish doubt. Let the light of the Name shine forth! 3.[3]

4

Written in the foregoing chapters are the three qualities⁶ which concern the conduct of a householder. If he does not follow these three, he will not attain liberation. 1.

⁴*hatha-yoga*: a variety of yoga requiring physical postures of extreme difficulty. HDS, p.104.

⁵*puttr*: son.

⁶*guṇa*: the three *guṇa* or constituents of Indian philosophy, viz. *sattava* (goodness), *rajas* (passion), and *tamas* (darkness).

Therefore the behaviour which has been recorded in these chapters of *Param Mārg* [will indicate] the path of the person who follows these three qualities. He who manifests these three qualities will attain heaven (*savarag*), the heaven where virtue [is rewarded]. Such people will attain Indra's heaven, the supreme one, and with them the people of all their families. Who belongs to these families? [They are] like Raja Janak, who followed Raj-jog, and Sukh Deo who was not entrapped in deeds of maya, and Prahilad who treasured the One Name, and [Ravana's younger brother] Babbichhan who, although in the lineage of the gods, became a Gurmukh. In such places will he be born. Then he will lay hold of the Panth which is liberation—those beloved lotus-feet—and he will dwell in Sahaj Yoga.

Sahaj Yoga is the fourth condition (*gun*). For the householder, however, it is not possible to fashion the behaviour [appropriate to the other] three conditions. For that reason, this promise has been inscribed over this chapter. Why is this so? Because Kaliyug has so exalted its power. 3.4

5

The panths which will result—the Muslim [panth] and the Hindu—will all proceed according to their beliefs (dharam). From the cultures of all there will emerge a single caste (baran). Castes will be mixed together. How will this happen? A Brahman will take a Muslim woman as his wife and a Muslim will take a Brahman woman. A Brahman will take a Khatri woman, and a Khatri will take a Muslim woman. A Muslim will take a Khatri woman. A Shudra will take a Brahman woman. A Vaishya will take a female Khatri. A Khatri will take a female Vaishya. A Shudra woman will enjoy a Khatri. A father will lie with his daughter, a son with his mother, brother with his sister. 1.

Different beliefs produce different deeds. Different ways of behaviour produce different castes. Neither Hindu worship (*pūjā*) nor Muslim (*navāz*), neither rosary nor beads, neither tilak nor obeisance. Where evil deeds promiscuously increase, from there will the Dharam Panth take flight. Therefore this Way is called the Highest Way (*param mārag*). Thus shall Sikhs—[followers of] of the Highest Way, which is the Way of Sri Akal Purakh's Khalsa—proceed [along it], yet still retain their caste (baran). The name of this caste shall be 'Khatri-Sodhi'.⁷ By grace, the divine Hukam has revealed this Way which shall never be defiled. 2.

Whoever wishes to find the way to the fourth condition (*gun*) should

⁷The sub-caste of the Sikh Gurus from Guru Ram Das onwards.

follow the way which this chapter lays out as Sahaj Yoga. The reputation of this way has been established by the divine Hukam. Whoever follows this way—the Highest Way—will find his dharam protected. Otherwise Kaliyug will seize everything and great will be the pain inflicted. For this reason, the Highest Way has been established by the divine Hukam. 3.

These people have taken the name of ‘Sikh Guru’. Those without a Guru have applied much effort, but their worship (*pūjā*) of another has not succeeded. This devotion (*bhagati*) is called ‘single member’ and, in the end, the person [who practises it] is released from [only] 84 [existences, not 84 lakh]. 4.

The supreme devotion is love of Hari’s lotus-feet, by means of which one beholds the Supreme Form. This way is known as the ‘Householder’s Path’ and Sahaj Yoga is its promise. 5.

Whatever Sikh or [other] person wishes to follow this way in love will know joy at the end and will lay hold of the Sikh way of life (*sikhī*). This is the most difficult thing to acquire in this human condition. If anyone attaches his heart to the lotus-feet of Sri Akal Purakh, he will be carried over [the Ocean of Existence]. 6.

Grace is the highest [of gifts]. Service is the foundation of this devotion. Without devotion, this life is wasted. Service is its very root. Understand devotion as a poor person, naked and hungry, seeking alms. Fulfil his hopes, making him supremely happy. There is good in this, for it is liberation. 7.5

6

The precepts of this way, contained in this book, should neither be explained nor read in front of everyone. 1.

Where is it spoken? [It is spoken] where it is heard in love, and where it is heard in love so that it becomes one’s way of life. 2.

In summary it amounts to this, that hearing it, one reflects upon it. Why speak about it when at the end a person proves to be inattentive to Sri Akal Purakh? This book should not be spoken of nor read to everyone. 3.

As has already been explained, at the end, the [condition of] Kaliyug [in which evil predominates] will prevail. Then this book will receive its due praise. 4.

“The ‘disciple of a warrior’” (*marad kā chelā*) will bring about the way

[set out in] this book.⁸ He who follows this way finds joy and, in the end crosses [over the Ocean of Existence]. 5.10⁹

The tenth chapter of *Srī Param Mārag Granth*, which concerns
'Sahaj Yoga', is ended.
112 sections

May Sri All-Steel protect [me].
May the All-Iron [One] protect me.
Sammāt 1931¹⁰ (1874 CE)

⁸See Chapter 1, fn. 5.

⁹This should be 5.6. The figure 10 refers to the number of the chapter.

¹⁰Note in text: This sammāt dating is that of the copy which is held in the Public Library, Lahore, in the Vernacular Languages Department (Oriental Section).

Glossary

Akal Purakh: the Supreme Being; God.

aradās, aradāsi: prayer of petition, the Khalsa Prayer.

baran: Punjabi form of *varan*, caste mode signifying status level in the conventional pyramid of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisha, Shudra, and Dalit.

bighā: A bigha varied according to locality. Under the British administration it was fixed as 120 square feet.

dharam (dharam): the duties to be performed by any particular caste; pantheistic duties.

divān: royal court; tribunal; district accountant; document covering an entire area.

faujadār: military commander.

gaz: approximately 1 yard or 90 cm.

gharī: 24 minutes.

jāgīr: rent-free grant of land given by the government to an individual.

jāti: endogamous caste group.

karāh prasād: sacramental food comprising equal parts of coarse wheat flour, clarified butter (ghee), and raw sugar, which has been prepared in a large iron dish (*karāhī*).

kos (koh): a linear measure varying from one to two miles in different parts of India, generally computed in the Punjab as the equivalent of one and a half miles.

kotwal (kotavāl): security officer; chief police officer.

malechh: wicked; evil; barbarian.

maund (maṇ): 1 maund equals approximately 40 kilograms.

pargana: sub-district.

paṭavārī: village surveyor and accountant; official who keeps an account of the tenures under which land is held.

qānūngo: superintendent of village paṭavārīs (*q.v.*)

seer: approximately equivalent to one kilogram.

sepīdār: traditional servant (barber, washerman, carpenter, etc.)

Sikhni: a female Sikh.

Srī Akāl Purakh. See *Akāl Purakh*.

tahsildār: revenue collector.

vazir: chief minister.

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W.H. McLeod is Emeritus Professor at the University of Otago and a Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand.

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